The Nation.

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The Week.

THE one comic touch in the Chicago platform is its denunciation of the Republicans for their "threat to business." This, coming from men who propose not only to threaten, but to throttle, business, to make property and life itself unsafe, shows that they have lost all sense of humor as well as of honor. No such collection of inflammatory and reckless men ever put themselves on exhibition in a national convention. Beside them the Populists are lamb-like, and the Socialists sucking doves. The country has watched their mad proceedings with disgust and shuddering, only impatient for the coming of November to stamp out them and their incendiary doctrines. Yet these objects of alarm have the impudence to accuse somebody else of threatening business!

The daily press teems with evidences of the Democratic revolt which the Populistic, anarchistic Chicago platform has already caused. It may be predicted from them with safety that the Eastern section of the Democratic party will refuse, practically in a body, to support the Chicago ticket. Not a Democratic newspaper in this city will support it, and very few in any other city of the State. This means such an overwhelming vote for McKinley in this State as to enable him to carry New York city. In other Eastern States the prospect is the same, and the indications are that no Northern Democratic newspaper of character or influence will support the ticket, while even in the South several of the party's most powerful organs have repudiated it. This will be an extraordinary situation, but the platform and the utterances of the favorite orators of the convention have made it inevitable. It is not a question of the wisdom of putting McKinley in, but of the overpowering necessity of keeping the Tillmans, Blands, Bryans, Altgelds, and the indescribables who believe them to be statesmen, out.

A more extraordinary overturn in political journalism has never been seen than that which has occurred in Michigan during the past six weeks. The Detroit *Tribune* has long been the chief Republican newspaper in the State; the Detroit *Free Press*, the leading Democratic journal. The Republican national convention had no sooner adopted a gold-standard platform than the *Tribune* denounced it as "damnably unpatriotic and un-Republican." On the other hand, when the Democratic convention declared for the free coinage of silver, the *Free Press* denounced the monetary utterance as "un-Democratic and fraught with serious menace to the country and its prosperity." The *Tribune* urges Republicans to see that free-coinage men are nominated and elected to Congress; the *Free Press* insists that the duty of every right-minded Democrat is to work for a House of Representatives which will oppose any further silver legislation. In short, the two newspapers have completely changed sides. Cases have been known before where important journals bolted their party, but we can recall no instance in which the two chief party organs in a State have bolted simultaneously.

Several of the revolting Democratic journals raise the question of another Democratic national ticket. The movement for such a ticket is likely to be especially strong in this State, for a Governor is to be chosen here this fall, and the next Legislature is to elect a United States Senator. If there be no Democratic Presidential ticket save that of the free-coinage destructionists, the Democrats of the State will have great difficulty in holding their votes for their candidates for Governor, Congressmen, and members of the Legislature. Thousands of Democrats will vote for McKinley, and in doing so will vote for the Republican State ticket also, simply because it will be more convenient to do so. In every Eastern State the Democratic Congressional candidates will be greatly handicapped if there be no honest-money Democratic Presidential ticket in the field. If there be no rallying-point for the sound-money men of the party, they will either not vote at all or vote the entire Republican ticket, out of sheer disgust with their own party and disinclination to make any discrimination in the expression of their disapproval.

An important point to consider in deciding upon the wisdom of a sound-money Democratic electoral ticket is the arrangement of the ballots under the Australian system. In a large majority of the States the tickets are arranged in party columns on the ballots, each having the names of the Presidential electors at the top. In New York State the names of the candidates for President and Vice-President follow immediately below the party emblem and name, and after them come the names of the electors. If there be no sound-money Democratic electors, what electors are to be placed in the Democratic party column? The Democratic State convention, when it assembles to nominate a candidate for Governor, must face the question of an electoral ticket. It can either approve the Republican McKinley electors, or nominate a set of McKinley electors of its own, or a set of Bryan electors, or fail to nominate any whatever. If it fails to nominate any, then its party column on the ballot will be blank in its upper half, and Democratic voters will be asked to vote a State ticket only, choosing their electoral ticket from the column of some other party. If the convention proposes to endorse the Republican electoral ticket, it will undoubtedly offend the "regular" susceptibilities of Tammany and other machine Democrats, and run the risk of precipitating the nomination of Bryan electors. If it nominates separate McKinley electors of its own—that is, decides to put a third Presidential ticket in the field—it will provide for the filling out of its party column with Democratic names, and a full Democratic ticket will be presented for the approval of all Democratic voters. The Southern and Western States will, without exception, approve the Chicago ticket, and the Bryan electors will appear on all the regular Democratic tickets. In the Eastern and Middle States, which, like New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, have party-column ballots, the regular Democratic organizations must decide whether they will put the Bryan electors into the party column, and thus become members of the repudiation party, or whether they will refuse to do so, and either put up a separate ticket or leave the electoral space bare. There is no escape from this dilemma.

A veteran of the party sends us the following reasons for the third-ticket policy:

I. Any attempt to transfer the bulk of a political party at once to its ancient and inveterate foes invariably fails.

II. A sound-money Democrat, supporting a gold Democrat, can get the ear of the Democracy with far less trouble than a Republican can.

III. A divided Democracy with two Democratic candidates in the field means a large Democratic vote for McKinley, and a vast number of Democrats who will not vote at all.

IV. A great number of free-trade Democrats will vote for an independent Democrat, who, if there be none such in the field, will vote for Bryan.

V. The nomination of an independent Democrat means saving the House of Representatives, and also the future of the Democratic party.

Another reason of much importance is that the speaking talent among the sound-money Democrats ought not to be lost in the campaign if it can be utilized. These speakers are generally well equipped. By battling inside their own party, they have mastered the subject and have gained the ear of the very men who ought

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to be reached. Carlisle, Patterson, Hoke Smith, Vilas, Fairchild, Bynum, are names that will readily occur; but the country is full of them. These men are not likely to take the stump for McKinley, although they may cast a silent vote for him.

The Chicago convention emphasized more strongly perhaps than any previous assemblage of the kind has done the folly of holding these gatherings in buildings of such enormous size. It is estimated that the attendance at most of the sessions was between 15,000 and 20,000. When we consider that the full convention, counting both delegates and alternates, does not exceed 2,000 persons, the absurdity of having it sit surrounded by a shouting, shrieking mob ten times its size is apparent. Pandemonium reigned in the Coliseum on Thursday night, when the convention was at the mercy of the 20,000 occupants of the surrounding galleries and floor spaces, who turned the proceedings into a prolonged riot of shouts, cheers, cat-calls, and general uproar, making anything like deliberation impossible, and practically taking control of the proceedings from the delegates. The crowd seems to have been in thorough sympathy with the free-silver majority, and most of its members were doubtless admitted with the understanding that they should add to the free-silver fury and thus give the impression that it was the cause of the people. The first convention to be held in a monster building was that which nominated Lincoln in 1860. Since then the size of the buildings has been increasing pretty steadily, and as a consequence the deliberative character of the conventions has steadily decreased until the present point has been reached. We ought to return to the old order of things, not excluding spectators, but subordinating them to the convention and keeping them within the bounds of decorum.

Mr. Bryan's oratorical powers are not marked by great versatility. It has been shown already that his speech which carried the Chicago convention off its feet and made him the nominee for President was mainly one which he had delivered a week earlier in a joint debate. He declaimed it to the convention as a spontaneous burst of pure eloquence, but the body of it and the closing passage, with its "crown of thorns" and "cross of gold," had been delivered only a few days before to another audience. Now it appears that even this first audience had it at second hand, for he closed a speech delivered before a committee of Congress on December 24, 1894, in opposition to a bill exempting the notes of State banks from taxation, as follows: "I for one will not yield to the demand. I will not help to crucify mankind upon a cross of gold. I will not aid them to press down upon the bleeding brow of labor the crown of thorns." Possibly this was not its first appearance. Whenever the "Boy Orator of the Platte" gets under the spell of his own eloquence, the crown of thorns and cross of gold roll irresistibly from his tongue. For an orator in his line of business the two figures are perfect. Nobody can tell what he means by them, but they are sonorous in delivery, and have a Biblical flavor which gives them the aspect of true prophecy. When shouted forth by a man with waving hair and upturned eyes, they strike everybody who is dissatisfied with the way the world is moving as the very soul of eloquence.

When Mr. Hobart was in Canton, a fortnight ago, he apologized to the people for not possessing "the grace of diction" that marks all the public utterances of McKinley. His speech to the notification committee, however, on Tuesday week shows that if he has not grace he has grit. It was the boldest, squarest, and most explicit endorsement of the gold standard; the frankest admission that the money question is to be the one issue of the campaign—that no compromise on this question is tolerable or possible, but that it must be fought out and settled now. If Mr. Hobart was practically unknown to the country before, he is known now. Where he stands and what he believes and what he will do if ever called upon to act, no one has any longer the least excuse for doubting. "Gold is the one standard of value among all enlightened commercial nations." "An honest dollar worth 100 cents everywhere cannot be coined out of 53 cents' worth of silver plus a legislative fiat." Mr. Hobart's remarks about the tariff were so subordinate and perfunctory that they might easily be passed by. It is perhaps worth while, however, to point out the way in which he shifts his ground when he passes from money to the tariff. "Great and self-reliant as our country is," he says in the currency part of his speech, "it is great not alone within its own borders and upon its own resources, but because it also reaches out to the ends of the earth in all the manifold departments of business, exchange, and commerce." It is a good deal of a jump from that to railing at a fiscal policy which "opens our markets to commodities from abroad," etc. But then, Mr. Hobart had to say something of the kind to show that his heart was still true to the dead.

McKinley's speech on Saturday showed a correct appreciation of the situation made by the action of the Chicago convention. The pending question is, as he said, the proposition there advanced for "the repudiation of our obligations and the debasement of our currency." High tariffs or low are of no consequence in comparison with this issue, and will get no attention from the people. The Republican candidate does well; therefore, to drop the tariff question from the first place which he has previously given it, and invite support as the representative of financial honor. He strikes at last the true keynote of the campaign.

The English Bimetallic League has often displayed great ability in extracting sunshine out of cucumbers, but its efforts on Monday to read into the Chicago platform a consuming love for "international bimetallism" surpass its best previous record. International bimetallism was jeered at and denounced at Chicago with only less violence than the gold standard. Bryan himself had only scorn for it. It was, in his mind, and in the opinion of his eager fellow-repudiators, only a low-down trick which had been played on them successfully once or twice, but by which they would never be taken in again. An international bimetallist was, in fact, in rather worse repute than a gold-bug, for he was thought to be either a namby-pamby, kid-gloved sort of amiable philosopher with whom no straight-thinking repudiator could have any patience, or else a hypocrite and a trickster. President Walker had the disagreeable task of telling his English bimetallic friends that they were all off the scent in this Chicago business; that it was a huge blunder, "deeply to be regretted," and that this passionate and unthinking action of the mob would only strengthen the gold standard.

The London *Times* is thrown into one of its attacks of melancholy over American institutions by the anarchist talk at Chicago about the "West and South against the East," and it sees "signs of estrangement" which "threaten the stability of American institutions with novel dangers." If our English friends will keep their eyes on American political history, they will learn that the American people, when they express themselves at the polls after the case is argued, make short work of such politics as has been voiced at Chicago. The hard times following the panic of 1873 produced a Greenback party in 1876 which found so eminently respectable a candidate for President as the philanthropist Peter Cooper. He polled, however, only 81,737 votes out of a total of 8,411,136. All the gall and bitterness excited by Mr. Cleveland's political honesty found expression in the nomination of Gen. Butler in 1884. He received, however, only 175,370 votes in a total of 10,067,610. The fight against the silver heresy this year will be a bigger fight than was the fight against Greenbackism, but our English friends may rest assured that Republican institutions will come out of it with honor.

It must be plain to every one, even from the speeches and documents produced

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thus early in the political campaign, that the free-coinage cause, so far as it appeals to thinking men, rests wholly on the question of money supply. "There is not enough gold in the world to do the work of trade," is the commonest of all objections to the present standard, but this is usually expanded into the assertion that the world's currency is contracting. We took occasion recently to meet this entirely false assertion by a series of categorical questions and answers. Since then a further and overwhelming answer to the contention of contracting currency has appeared in the Mint Director's estimate for 1896. It should first be said, for the benefit of people unfamiliar with the character of our mint department, that it stands to-day probably the highest authority in the world on gold production. Its advance estimates during the last few years have been confirmed with extraordinary closeness, and it has not once, in its last half-dozen annual estimates, placed the year's anticipated yield too high. The latest advices give Mr. Preston's estimate of gold production for the present calendar year. It fixes the remarkable total of $220,000,000. To appreciate what this means, and what light it sheds on the alleged contraction of the money supply, comparison with previous years is necessary:

WORLD'S GOLD PRODUCTION.

1896.....	*$220 000,000	1891.....	$130,650,000
1895.....	203,000,000	1890.....	118,848,700
1894.....	180,626,100	1885.....	108,435,600
1893.....	157,287,600	1880.....	106,436,800
1892.....	146,815,100	1875.....	97,500,000

*Estimated.

This table covers the period since contraction in the money supply, according to the free-coinage school, began. It may be added that the highest annual average of gold production ever reached before the present decade was $134,083,000, and that the current annual production of gold alone is nearly $15,000,000 in excess of the world's combined production of both gold and silver as lately as 1884.

It is sometimes said that the "use of gold in the arts" prevents the employment of the newly mined product as money. The industrial use of gold has in recent years been a subject of close investigation, the conclusion reached by general agreement among experts being that $50,000,000 is a safe outside estimate of the annual consumption for such purposes in the world. It may readily be figured out that this would still leave, under the estimate of production for 1896, no less than $170,000,000 worth of new gold annually for coinage purposes. How large a percentage this is to existing money supplies is of course a very difficult question to determine. In 1885, however, Dr. Adolph Soetbeer undertook the task. His figures have an interest as being the nearest approximation which we are likely to obtain to the exact truth of the matter. He reckoned the total metallic money supply in all civilized states that year at 21,207,000,000 marks, or, roughly, $5,301,750,000. These figures had of course no reference to bank or Government paper issues, but they included legal-tender silver. On such a total, the current annual gold production, after allowing for the industrial use of gold, represents an annual increase, in the world's metallic money supply, of more than 3 per cent. Neither the population, nor the foreign trade, nor the domestic operations as represented by clearing-house exchanges, show in any state an increase even approximating this.

England's revenue returns for the first quarter of her financial year show no sign of bringing her to her knees in terror at the dire effects of the gold standard. As compared with the corresponding period of 1895, there is a total increase in revenue of $8,000,000. The excise alone yields $5,000,000 of this, and high returns from excise are always a sure indication of generally diffused prosperity. An increase of $700,000 in the revenue derived from stamps, shows general commercial activity, while the swelling of the post-office receipts by $450,000 and the telegraph revenue by $75,000 points the same way. All told, English recovery from the world-wide depression of two years ago is marked. Business is better all round, and the investment markets are buoyant. Why have we not, as almost invariably in other years, felt the stimulus and shared in the better times? Why, except that our standard of value has been shaking in the wind, our currency vicious, our Congress and parties a prey to demagogues? No standard of value can guarantee prosperity without honest and intelligent business methods, but the wisest and best methods are powerless if the standard is uncertain. That is the hard lesson which American business men have been taught by their own crippled trade and lessened profits, and the spectacle of English revival and confidence, beside our continued depression, is all that is needed to confirm the teaching.

The International Socialist Workers' and Trade-Union Congress is to convene, with all the linked sweetness long drawn out of its name, in London on July 27. From the programme put out by the organizing committee, it is evident that there is much work and trouble ahead. One great question will be whether the word Anarchist shall not be added to the title. At the Zurich congress, the Anarchists were expelled, though it took two days to do it, but they are coming to London just the same, and the Dutch Socialists, together with the Independent Tailors and Machinists' Union, are in favor of admitting them. The General Union of Dutch Carpenters would like the congress to confine itself to the discussion of economic questions only, and the Spanish delegates, as if getting wind of this, and dreading the possibilities wrapped up in it, are in favor of suppressing all oral discussion, economic or otherwise, and having everything submitted in writing. The Dutch Socialists want the congress to define "political action," but the French Central Revolutionary Committee, without caring about definitions, are in favor of "the conquest of political power by the proletariat." The Independent Labor party will ask the congress to "declare emphatically against the useless and dangerous illusion known as the general strike"; but the Dutch Socialists call upon workers to follow a declaration of war by any government by this same general strike. Female suffrage, a universal language, and a socialization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, are among the minor topics to engage the attention of the congress, which evidently believes that knowledge is its forte and omniscience its foible.

A result, long awaited, of the unification of the German Empire is the adoption by the Reichstag of the new civil code. Even before the unification of the Empire the need was felt of putting an end to the conflicts and vexations which arose out of radically different codes and statutes in adjoining States. In Prussia, where the provincial law of 1794 obtains, it is stated that there are more than twenty local codes which in some cases take precedence of the Prussian system. The Roman law, modified by use and wont, applies in the largest legal area. Particularly variant and perplexing are the laws relating to marriage and divorce, and to the inheritance of property. One authority refers to a town in Bavaria where, if three persons die in different rooms of the same house, their estates may have to be administered according to three different systems. All this legal chaos is swept away by the new code, which represents the labors of various commissions for fully twenty-six years. The final form was given by practical lawyers and judges from all parts of Germany, whose work was approved, with only slight modifications, by the German Parliament. Speaking generally, the new code is said to represent the triumph of German over Roman law, and to introduce a larger application of the principles of equity than has been known in any German code. Compulsory civil marriage is one of its leading features, and that this should have been accepted even by the Catholic members of the Reichstag shows how firm a hold the institution has already acquired in Germany. On the other hand, divorce is made much more difficult to obtain than under the prevailing practice. The new code is to go into effect with the beginning of the twentieth century.

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THE CHICAGO NOMINEE.

THE body of repudiators that has been holding a convention at Chicago during the past week and calling itself the Democratic party, has nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President. The result is somewhat surprising, since Mr. Bryan is a new and untried man, only thirty-six years of age. Only a small fraction of the people of the United States have ever heard of him. All of our Presidents heretofore have been men of experience, sufficiently tested in public life to enable people to form some idea of their capacity and moral fibre. This is not the case with Mr. Bryan. Yet his nomination was not accidental. It was due to the speech which he made on Thursday and to his previous record as a Populist-Democrat in Nebraska. He was found to be precisely of the stamp of Tillman and Altgeld, and of a more attractive personality than either of them. Of all the men voted for in the convention he comes nearest to satisfying the Populists. So say Senator Peffer and ex-Gov. Lewelling of Kansas. It is safe to assume that the Populist convention at St. Louis on the 22d inst. will endorse Bryan, although they might not have endorsed Bland, or Boies, or Blackburn. He will be somewhat less satisfactory to the silver Republicans of the mining States, because they have no intention of joining the greenbackers, yet they will probably cast their votes for him.

Mr. Bryan was not a delegate to the convention. He came there leading a contesting delegation. The regular delegates were unseated by the silverite majority and their places were given to Bryan and his crowd. The cheers that greeted him were the measure of his wind power, which is immense. The measure of his specific gravity is to be found in his political career at home. He was carried into Congress on the Democratic tidal wave of 1890, was reëlected in 1892, and took a position on the silver question so extreme that he split the Democratic party in his State and lost his seat in Congress. In 1895 the two wings of the party in Nebraska ran separate tickets for Judge of the Supreme Court, and the anti-silver faction polled 8,000 more votes than the Bryan faction. The regular organization of the party remained in their hands, and it was this organization that was cast out by the silverite majority at Chicago in favor of the bolters. His speech to the convention was an appeal to one of the worst instincts of the human heart—that of getting possession of other people's property without the owners' consent. That is what is meant by free coinage at 16 to 1. All business and all obligations rest to-day, have rested for nearly a quarter of a century, on the gold dollar as the unit of value. It is proposed now to substitute a silver dollar for it worth about half as much, and to make this depreciated coin applicable to all existing bargains and contracts. This is not all. It has been alleged over and over again that the programme of the silver propagandists was much more extensive than free silver; that it looked forward to free greenbacks, which are far more attractive to the repudiating tribe. Mr. Bryan gave warning of what is to follow when he said: "The right to coin money and *issue* money is a function of the Government. It is a part of sovereignty, and can no more be delegated with safety to individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or to levy taxes." If the business community supposed that there were any real danger of this dishonest policy being put into practical operation, there would be a panic and crash the like of which has never been seen in this or any other country. The fact that business remains in a state of quiescence is the best evidence that the proceedings of the roaring mob at Chicago are not taken seriously by the American people.

The nomination of Bryan for President of the United States and the adoption of a platform of repudiation make a pitiful climax for the Democratic party — the party of Jackson, Benton, Seymour, Tilden, Cleveland—the party whose boast has been that it always stood for sound money and never put a depreciated dollar into the hand of labor. The decadence of the party in the past few years, since the Tillmans, Altgelds, Bryans, and Blackburns came to the front and took the leadership, has been melancholy in the extreme. There are signs in plenty that nearly all the men who give character to the party to-day, successors of the great men whose names honor their country's history, will repudiate this ticket and this platform as they would the pest. From all parts of the East and from many in the West and South we hear, not protest merely, but the indignant declaration of Democratic leaders and business men that they will vote the Republican ticket. They consider their honor and their means of livelihood alike involved in this battle. They find something of higher and more immediate concern to their families and to the State than party ties or tariff schedules. They will vote not so much for McKinley and Hobart as against Bryan and repudiation, but their votes will count and their influence will tell from hour to hour and from day to day till the election.

Whether the dissenting Democrats will or ought to nominate a ticket of their own is a question for themselves to decide. Of course the main thing is to beat the ticket of the Repudiators. Everything else is insignificant in comparison, yet opinions may differ as to the best way of accomplishing this result. Our opinion is that the sound-money Democrats, by which term we mean those of intelligence and substance in all parts of the country (in South Carolina and Texas as well as in New York and Massachusetts), will vote for McKinley and Hobart whether there is a sound-money Democratic ticket in the field or not. But the question is not free from difficulty.

THE CHICAGO PLATFORM.

OUR anticipations of the kind of platform that the convention would adopt at Chicago were very low, but the actual product is worse than we had expected. In point of morals it is baser than anything ever avowed heretofore by a political party in this country outside of the slavery question. The free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is endorsed, and the platform declares that the dollars so coined shall be legal tender for debts previously contracted on the basis of the gold standard. This is equivalent to the repudiation of nearly one-half of all debts which are made payable in dollars without the mention of the specific kind of dollars. All debts incurred since 1873, when the gold dollar was made the unit of value, have been contracted in the single gold standard. That is exactly what was meant by the demonetization of silver. It meant that every contract made and every debt incurred should be legally payable in a particular kind of dollars consisting of 25 8-10 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine. We will omit for a moment the question whether Congress ought to have passed such a law. It will not be disputed that Congress had the constitutional power to pass it. It will not be denied that it was the law of the land immediately after it was signed by the President. It will not be denied that it has been the law every day and hour since that time. Consequently, every obligation to pay money made since 1873 has been an obligation to pay dollars each worth 100 cents in gold.

Now the Democratic party proposes that every one of these obligations (those made yesterday as well as those made twenty-three years ago) may be paid in dollars worth 53 cents each in gold. This is repudiation of the other 47 cents. The resolution then says: "We favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract." This aims to prevent the making of contracts payable in gold—a right which the Supreme Court has upheld in frequent decisions. The right to make a contract for gold is as clear and undoubted as the right to make a contract for cloth, for building materials, or for labor. To deprive people of that right would be practically depriving them of the power to borrow at all, since in many cases the lender will not part with his money on any other terms. If capitalists at home and abroad supposed that this plank of the platform would be ratified at the coming election, they would call in every loan that is now due and refuse to make new ones on any terms.

With a view to hiding the taint of re-

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pudiation and the assault made upon the right of private contract, the platform-makers endeavor to make it appear that the silver is money by virtue of the Constitution, one of the preliminary planks being in these words:

"Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the federal Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the unit of value, and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio measured by the silver-dollar unit."

The only foundation for this is in article i., section 10, which says:

"No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; *make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts;* pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility."

Neither the word gold nor the word silver occurs in the Constitution in any other place. What does it say here? Simply that no State shall make anything else than those metals legal tender. At the time when the Constitution was adopted, several States had made their own bills of credit legal tender. Such paper was in actual circulation. It had a definite time to run, and the Constitution provided that when the time expired no more should be issued, and that nothing should be made legal tender by them but gold and silver coin. This was a clause dealing with the States only. It had no reference to the powers or duties of the federal Government. It did not confer any powers. It merely prohibited the exercise of powers. To say that we must have both gold and silver as money because the States are prohibited from making anything else legal tender, is as absurd as to say that we must have letters of marque and reprisal, bills of attainder, and ex-post-facto laws because the States are prohibited from having these also. Even if the Constitution had said that we must have both gold and silver as money, nobody pretends that it said or implied that we should have a coinage ratio different from the market ratio, which would result in giving us only one.

The second clause in the paragraph quoted from the platform, which affirms that silver was made the unit of our coinage in the first coinage law under the Constitution, is false. This is one of the exposed lies of 'Coin's Financial School.' It finds an appropriate place in a platform which advocates repudiation of both public and private debts. A unit means one thing, not two things. The first coinage law provided for two kinds of legal-tender money, which would have been impossible if one of them had been declared the unit. Even if it had made the silver dollar the unit, that fact would not have impaired the right of subsequent Congresses to change it.

Other parts of the platform are equally mendacious. The clause in reference to banks says that "Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals." President Jackson never said anything of the kind, never thought or imagined anything of the kind. His contention was exactly the opposite. He maintained that *Congress* had no power to charter a bank. He never denied that the States had that power. The power to issue circulating notes was the very thing that was understood and implied by "banking powers" in his time, and he never questioned it. When he drew the Government deposits out of the Bank of the United States, which had been chartered by Congress, he caused them to be put in State banks, which were then issuing circulating notes. All the implications that are to be drawn from Jackson's acts are exactly the reverse of what are ascribed to him in the platform. What, we beg to ask, has become of the plank in the party platform of 1892 which calls for the repeal of the federal tax on State banknotes? Where does Jackson stand on that question?

These are trivialities, however, in comparison with the bold and wicked scheme of repudiation which is presented without a blush in the platform. Upon this question the campaign must be fought. If the party of repudiators cannot be put down, the republic cannot be preserved and is not worth preserving.

"A SECTIONAL ISSUE."

SENATOR TILLMAN of South Carolina, in his diatribe on Thursday, declared that "the financial question is a sectional issue," and when the declaration evoked vigorous hisses, he reasserted his position as follows:

"The truth is mighty and will prevail. Facts can neither be sneered out of existence nor obliterated by hisses. I say that the question is sectional, in so far as it is sectional, as between the Eastern bosses, and not between the people of the East, and the West and the South. We of the South have burned our bridges as far as the Northeastern Democracy is concerned, as now organized. We have turned our faces to the West, asking our brethren of those States to unite with us in restoring the government, the liberty of our fathers, which our fathers left us."

Senator Jones of Arkansas contradicted Tillman's declaration that the silver question is sectional, and cited one free-coinage delegate from Maine and another from Massachusetts as evidence that the cause is a national one. Nevertheless, it is true, as the South Carolina demagogue said, that the Democratic party has made itself a sectional organization in this campaign by the platform which it adopted in national convention on Thursday. The free-coinage issue deprives it at the very start of all chance of carrying any State in the northeastern part of the country.

The Democracy since the war has carried the country in two Presidential elections when its candidate was installed in office, while in a third its nominee would have been inaugurated if the vote of Louisiana in 1876 had been counted by the Electoral Commission as it was cast. In each of these three elections the party carried the three Eastern States of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey. In each case except 1892 the candidate would have been hopelessly beaten without these three States. The loss of New York defeated Cleveland in 1888, even though New Jersey and Connecticut were saved. The issue which the Tillmans have imposed upon Democracy deprives the party of the great State without which it has never carried the country since 1856, except when the "tidal wave" of 1892 swept Republican barriers before it in Western States that had previously gone against the Democrats ever since the ante-bellum period. It also loses the Chicago candidate New Jersey and Connecticut as surely as New York.

There are now 447 electoral votes, and 224 are required to make a majority. New York has 36, New Jersey 10, and Connecticut 6. Thus 52, or nearly one-fourth of a majority, are in three States that went Democratic in 1876, 1884, 1888 (except New York), and 1892. The new sectional issue throws away, and its champions declare that they rejoice to throw away, the whole Northeast. How do they expect to make up for this loss? By a union of "the South" and "the West," they say. The expression "the South" has come to mean the sixteen States in which slavery formerly existed, and which have gone solidly Democratic in every Presidential election for twenty years. But these sixteen States can no longer be counted upon as solid. Delaware (with 3 electoral votes) and Maryland (8) will stand with New Jersey, New York, and the rest of the East, with which their interests are most closely allied. West Virginia (with 6 electoral votes) has been growing towards Republicanism for many years; it gave Cleveland but 506 plurality in 1888, and only 4,183 in 1892; it elected four Republican Congressmen, and a Legislature more than two-thirds Republican, in 1894; its Republicans are confident of success this year, and have good reason for their faith. Kentucky (with 13 electoral votes) went Republican by nearly 9,000 on the silver issue, with the largest vote ever cast, last year, and sound-money Democratic newspapers predict a worse defeat for the party on the Chicago platform this year. Missouri (with 17 electoral votes) went Republican in 1894, and must be ranked as doubtful in 1896.

Tillman talks of a union between "the South" and "the West" on the silver issue. The only possibility of such a union, so far as the latter section is concerned, is when "the West" is restricted to a few States far beyond the Mississippi. Ohio (with 23 electoral votes), Indiana (15), Illinois (24), and Michigan (14)

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are no longer really Western States, but central; the same is true of Wisconsin (12), Minnesota (9), and Iowa (13). The only one of these seven States that the Democratic party ever carried between 1856 and 1892 is Indiana; in 1892 Cleveland was supported by Illinois and Wisconsin. Even with the free-coinage craze raging about them this year, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota sent sound-money delegations to the Chicago convention. Nobody familiar with their political history can imagine for a moment that the candidate who stands on the platform adopted last week can carry a single one of these seven central States except Indiana, and the Republicans of Indiana welcome a contest on the free-coinage issue.

What remains of Tillman's "West"? Only Kansas (with 10 electoral votes), Nebraska (8), North Dakota (3), South Dakota (4), Montana (3), Wyoming (3), Colorado (4), Utah (3), Nevada (3), Idaho (3), Washington (4), Oregon (4), and California (9). The whole thirteen have only 61 electoral votes, if they were unanimous for the Chicago nominee. In Nebraska the sound-money Democrats ran their own ticket last year, and polled nearly twice as many votes as the soft-money crowd; and they will keep up the fight this year. The Republicans carried North Dakota with a sweep in 1894, and in South Dakota they cast 5,000 more votes for their ticket than the Democrats and Populists together; while in Wyoming their total exceeded by 1,000 the combined opposition. Kansas went for Weaver in 1892, the Democrats supporting the Populist electors, but in 1894 the Republicans polled 3,500 more votes for Governor than the Democrats and Populists together.

We do not need to carry the analysis further to show that the new sectionalism involves the certain defeat of the party which precipitates it. It presents the Republicans at the start with 52 electoral votes which were Democratic in 1876, 1884, and 1892, and, except for New York, in 1888; it breaks the "solid South" by threatening the loss of the 30 of its 159 electoral votes cast by Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and Kentucky; it throws away the Central States, leaving Indiana as the only one in that part of the country that can be considered as in any sense debatable; and it pares down the West to a baker's dozen of thinly settled States which have only 61 votes in all, and which cannot be carried in a block. As a political move this free-coinage campaign is therefore stark madness.

A FREE-COINAGE CATECHISM.

Q. WHAT is money? A. Any common medium of exchange which is accepted as payment in itself.

Q. What is representative money? A. Any common medium of exchange which promises to pay money.

Q. What is meant by primary money? A. This is a new phrase introduced to confuse people by suggesting that there is also secondary money.

Q. What is money of final redemption? A. This is another late addition to the American language implying that there are several different kinds of money. There is only one kind of money in this country. There are several different kinds of representative money.

Q. Give examples of each. A. Gold coin is money. Everything else that circulates, whether of metal or of paper, is representative money.

Q. Is silver coin representative money? A. It is.

Q. In what way does the Government promise to redeem its silver coins? A. By the act of Congress of June 9, 1879, it promises to redeem all coins smaller than one dollar when presented in sums not less than $20. By the act of February 28, 1878, the Government promises to receive silver dollars at par in all payments to itself. By the act of July 14, 1890, it declares it to be the policy of the Government to keep the two metals at a parity with each other. By two different acts the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to purchase coin and to issue the obligations of the United States therefor.

Q. What is the indispensable quality and first requisite of money? A. That it should be universally acceptable.

Q. Is there any kind of money universally acceptable but gold? A. There is not.

Q. Would not silver be equally acceptable if it were equally legal tender? A. Silver dollars are legal tender. Give any man the option of taking one hundred of these pieces or ten gold pieces of $10 each and he will choose the latter. Therefore they are not equally acceptable.

Q. Is the difference in weight the only reason why gold is more acceptable than silver? A. That is not the only reason now, but it was the main if not the only reason when civilized nations made their choice between the two.

Q. What reasons exist now that did not exist then? A. A variation of 50 per cent. has taken place in the value of the two metals. In addition to being sixteen times as heavy, silver has lost one-half of its value during the interval.

Q. Are there any other reasons why silver is not equally acceptable with gold? A. Yes; although a limited amount of silver (and also of nickel and copper) is used as a medium of exchange, it is now a commodity in the markets of the world subject to the same fluctuations as other commodities. People do not like to use a fluctuating commodity as money, and will not if they can get anything better.

Q. Have you mentioned all the reasons why gold is acceptable as money and silver is not? A. The most decisive reason is that the civilized world has adjusted itself to the gold standard during a long period of time. All business is bottomed on it. It is an accomplished fact coextensive with the commercial world. To change to another standard would be literally turning the commercial world upside down.

Q. Can such a change be produced? A. It is absolutely impossible. In a conceivable case one country may turn itself upside down, but that feat would not make gold less acceptable or silver more so, even in that country. Acceptableness is a state of the human mind which laws cannot change.

Q. Is the preference for gold universal? A. It is universal among civilized men. Even the silver advocates in the United States prefer gold in their business affairs—that is, everywhere except on the stump. Senator Stewart of Nevada makes his mortgages payable in gold. When he was reproved for this bad example, he said that he merely followed the universal custom on the Pacific Coast, where he lives. So we have his authority for the statement that in the section of the Union where the demand for silver is most vociferous, everybody prefers gold in his private business.

Q. Can you give any other examples? A. The Territory of Arizona brought a bill before Congress two or three years ago, asking authority to issue bonds payable specifically in gold, on the ground that the money would be borrowed at a considerably lower rate of interest than if they were payable in dollars without specifying the kind of dollars. The State of Utah is negotiating a specific gold loan now for the same reason. Yet both Arizona and Utah are politically for silver.

Q. What do these acts signify? A. Two things: First, that gold is preferable to silver in the general estimation of mankind; second, that payment in gold is an advantage to borrowers.

SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS.

THE irritation caused at first in England by the request, almost amounting to a demand, of the Transvaal Government that steps be taken to try Cecil Rhodes for complicity in the Jameson raid, seems now to have passed away. The ministry are slowly feeling their way towards measures intended to satisfy the Boers that English justice is something more than a name. Mr. Rhodes's resignation from the Chartered Company has at last been accepted, doubtless under the advice or pressure of Secretary Chamberlain. It is now intimated that a royal commission will soon be appointed to investigate the whole question. The reason formerly given for delayed official action—namely, that the Government must await the result of Jameson's trial—has now lost most of its force. Jameson has had only a preliminary hearing, but the evidence of his guilt brought out at that was so over

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whelming that it is absurd for Mr. Chamberlain to say any longer that he must wait to see what the courts will decide. The time is now ripe for a comprehensive and conciliatory inquiry into the whole affair, and the indications are that it will speedily be begun.

A good precedent (and a great advantage) for the English Government lies in their own action in 1881 in then restoring the independence of the Transvaal. That was an act of conspicuous justice and magnanimity, for which Mr. Gladstone was at the time, and has been since, roundly abused by the Tories and Jingoes, but the memory of which will stand the English negotiators in good stead in the present situation. In a speech some days ago at the South African dinner in London, Mr. Chamberlain read from an autograph letter, before unpublished, of the late Sir John Brand, written in 1881. Sir John was one of the ablest statesmen that South Africa ever knew, and, speaking of the restoration of independence to the Transvaal, he said that it was "a noble act which only a great and powerful nation could have performed." He added that it would surely have its reward, as it would secure for England the affection of the whole of South Africa. Something of this must have been in the mind of President Krüger when he lately declared that "mutual trust must be the basis of our political principles, and that trust the Republic on its side will never put to shame."

It cannot be denied that the first and inevitable effect of the events of last December was to arouse intense suspicion of English policy. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State were at once drawn together as if for common defence. They increased their armament. They redoubled their watchfulness on the frontier. Native and anti-English sentiment rose to a great height, and the election as President in the Free State of a man of strong Dutch-Afrikander feelings was a direct consequence. Even in Cape Colony much jealousy of English interference in South Africa was displayed, and the Afrikanders in the Cape Parliament had many bitter things to say of English greed and broken promises. In short, English prestige seemed seriously checked, and the project of South African federation hopelessly put back.

But time and discussion and a spirit of concession on both sides have much eased the situation. In the Transvaal a serious effort has been made to redress the just grievances of the Uitlanders in respect of educational opportunities, citizenship, the suffrage, and taxation. At the same time a clearer idea has been given of the exaggerated nature of some of the demands of the Johannesburgers. Like the Americans in Hawaii, they were too much disposed to insist upon the privileges without the responsibilities of citizenship; they wanted to vote without renouncing their allegiance to foreign powers, or being compelled to bear arms in defence of the Republic; they wanted to be citizens in respect of local immunities and favors, while at the same time aliens in respect of the right to demand the protection of a foreign flag. On the other hand, a much quieter tone marks the late discussions in the Cape Parliament and at Westminster. Mr. Schreiner is not alone, at the Cape or in London, in affirming: "It is conspicuously the part of any man who loves his country to feel that the methods to be employed must be those of the most soothing argument, and impressed with the one watchword for South Africa—patience." The English Government has now before it a great opportunity for constructive statesmanship in healing by wise and conciliatory measures the soreness caused by the rash folly of Rhodes and Jameson. It will be interesting to see if it rises to it.

For American readers the series of articles on South Africa by Mr. Bryce in the *Century* Magazine have been most timely and instructive. With dispassionate and philosophic mind and ample knowledge, he traces the racial and industrial and political development of South Africa, and puts in clearest light the essential elements of the problem confronting peoples and governments. Most valuable of all, perhaps, is his last instalment, treating of social conditions, particularly of the negro question, in South Africa. His intimate acquaintance with our own similar difficulties enables him to put the case before the American public with singular aptness and force. South Africa has been an unknown land to most Americans, and it will be hard for them to realize that governmental and social questions such as have long vexed us are acute also in those rapidly risen commonwealths in the south of the dark continent. For compact and impartial information, and for helpful discussion of the whole matter, they cannot do better than to turn to Mr. Bryce's articles.

MARSHAL CASTELLANE.

PARIS, July 2, 1896.

FOUR octavo volumes, even in our time of detailed memoirs—it seems as if the family of Marshal Castellane might have been content with a less ponderous homage to the member of their house who attained the highest dignity in the French Army. Shall I say that I have had the courage to read these four volumes? The enterprise, I confess, seemed hard at first, and I did not expect to be well rewarded; but by degrees I became accustomed to the manner of Marshal Castellane, and I took some pleasure in his defects as well as in his qualities. He was essentially what is called a martinet, a fanatical worshipper of discipline, a strict observer of all the army regulations, even the oldest and most obsolete. People, it seems, who knew, would recognize at once the regiments which had been formed under his own direction; and, after all, so long as there are standing armies, such men as he was will be necessary. He had the strictest sense of duty; the army was to him the alpha and omega of life, of patriotism, of honor, of ambition. Born before the Revolution, he never adopted the ideas of the old régime; he was neither a monarchist nor an imperialist. To him the army was France, its greatness the greatness of the country, whatever the government might be.

He was born on March 21, 1788, in Paris; his mother was a Rohan-Chabot, his father Boniface, Marquis of Castellane. At the age of sixteen, on December 2, 1804, the day of the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon, he was incorporated as a private in the Fifth Regiment of Light Infantry. "My taste for the profession of arms," he says, "never ceased from that time." He became rapidly a corporal, a sergeant, and received a brevet of sublieutenant in the Twenty-fourth Dragoons. Castellane had to join his regiment in Modena; from that place we follow him to Milan, to Pau, where he joined the corps of General Junot. He enters Spain on the staff of General Mouton, occupying Madrid, and taking part in the principal events which occurred when Joseph became King of Spain.

Castellane's father was Prefect of the Basses-Pyrénées at the time of the reunion of a Junta at Bayonne for the framing of a constitution. "He had the privilege of saying whatever he would to Napoleon, who liked to talk with him and even sometimes to chaff with him. One day he said: 'Castellane, you are a pasha here; the prefects, a hundred leagues distant from Paris, have more power than I have.' 'Yes, Sire, the prefects see that the taxes are paid, they give you men for making war. They are the caterers of your glory; they prepare the dishes, your generals eat them.' My father often told me that people could say anything to the Emperor, especially in tête-à-tête. He would listen and allow people to talk, which is not the case with all sovereigns."

Young Castellane showed so much bravery in various affairs that, at the review of his division at Burgos, General Mouton asked of the Emperor the rank of captain for him. "His Majesty refused, finding me too young. The General then asked for the cross of the Legion of Honor for me, adding, 'He is the son of the Prefect of the Basses-Pyrénées.' 'You spoil my young men, Monsieur Mouton,' said the Emperor. The General was obstinate, and became red with rage. His Majesty ended by saying: 'Well, after the first engagement.' I was twenty years old, but looked much younger. If the Emperor had not held the review in person, the proposition in my favor would have been accepted with the rest. I received the cross later, but it was really on that occasion that I can say that I deserved it best."

Castellane was often near the Emperor during this Spanish campaign; he accompanied him on horseback to Guadarrama, and tells how Napoleon would cross the mountains in the snow and over the icy road, how he fell with his horse without hurting himself, how Napoleon liked to gallop with the vanguard, and often far away from the vanguard. One day, when Napoleon was trying to find the English Army, he went so far away with a single squadron that Marshal Ney said to him: "I thank your Majesty for having been willing to do the business of my vanguard." On another occasion Castellane accompanied him, with only twenty-five soldiers. "People were surprised, in a country like this, to see his Majesty with such a weak escort. A book fell out of his pocket. I picked it up and read its title before giving it to the officer on duty; it was entitled 'Entre Chien et Loup.' His

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Majesty read a good many novels; they sent to him from Paris everything that was new in this line." Such passages are interesting, as they make us acquainted with the Emperor's habits. Napoleon was a man of imagination as well as a man of action. He had to feed his imagination at all times, even in his dangerous and fatiguing campaign in Spain.

Castellane joined the Emperor at Abensberg, in the midst of a battle, at the beginning of the Austrian campaign of 1809. His style cannot be held up as a model for military writers. "On the 22d we gained the battle of Eckmühl." This has the merit of being very laconic, but the writer becomes sometimes very prolix when he comes to speak of himself and his own experience. I confess that I have been interested by this personal account of the greatest events in history; it is war painted in its reality. It seems as if you were making a campaign by proxy, while feeling none of the hardships of it. Castellane's lot was not of the hardest, as he was on the staff. After the battle of Wagram he received the red ribbon which he had coveted so eagerly since Burgos. When he was allowed to thank the Emperor, Napoleon answered his thanks in these words: "Brave young man, wait an instant," and he handed him an order written in his own hand. I translate it, to give an idea of the conciseness of Napoleon:

"Aide-de camp Castellan [*sic*] will go to Linz, where he will give the accompanying letter to the Duke of Dantzig; from there he will go to Bayreuth, to take a letter to the Duke of Abrantès. At Bayreuth he will note the name of the troops which compose the corps of the Austrian general Kienmayer, and the positions they occupy. He will bring me back also the situation of the corps of the Duc d'Abrantès—infantry, cavalry, artillery. On his return, he will visit the fortifications of Passau Linz, and Malk. He will take on his way the dispatches of General Bourcier.—Signed, NAPOLEON."

On the occasion of the 15th of August, the day chosen by Napoleon for his feast-day, Castellane was named Chevalier de l'Empire, with an allowance of 2,000 francs. This allowance, first established at Bayreuth, was afterwards successively transferred to Hamburg, Piedmont, Rome; and at the Restoration transformed into a public pension of 500 francs. On the same day, Masséna was made Prince of Essling, Davout Prince of Eckmühl, Berthier Prince of Wagram, each with a yearly allowance of 600,000 francs. A number of officers received pensions, titles, and majorats.

During the intervals of the campaign, Castellane lived in Paris, and he gives some curious details about the court and the society of the time. He used to go almost every day to the house of the Duchess of Bassano.

"I met there," he says, "the beautiful Mrs. Gazzani. The Emperor had discovered at Genoa this Mrs. Gazzani, remarkable for her loveliness and not less for her goodness. His Majesty made her come to Paris, appointed her reader to the Empress, and gave a receiver-generalship to her husband. She was for a time in the highest favor. The Emperor quickly lost his liking for her. At the time of his repudiation of the Empress Josephine, he refused to attach her to the Empress Marie Louise. . . . I was never in love with her, but remained devoted to her till the time of her death. I made the acquaintance at her house of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, who was then a companion in our amusements, and little thought that he would one day be the husband of the Princess Charlotte of England."

The Empress Josephine had with her two relations of Castellane's, viz., Miss Virginia and Miss Louise de Castellane, one of whom married later Count Fritz de Pourtalès, an equerry of the Empress. This circumstance partly explains how Castellane always remained on the staff during his campaigns.

Here and there, among many indifferent details, we find an interesting story:

"Dupont de Nemours told me how Barrère saved the life of the sculptor Houdon during the Terror. David had had Houdon arrested, and wished to have him guillotined, as he had declared war against all the artists, his colleagues. Mrs. Houdon came to solicit Barrère and urge him to save her husband. Barrère said to her: 'I see no way; but tell me, for which of his works has he been imprisoned?' 'For a statue of Saint Scolastica,' said Mrs. Houdon. 'What does she look like?' 'A fine woman, with a scrap of paper in her hand.' At the very moment when Mrs. Houdon was finishing her phrase, entered Collot-d'Herbois. Barrère said to him: 'Houdon has made a statue of Philosophy meditating on the Revolution; you must have it bought by the Assembly and placed in the room in front of the Assembly room, and declare that Houdon has deserved well of the country.' This was done and Houdon was saved."

In 1812 Castellane left Paris for the campaign in Russia. He tells us all about Napoleon's stay in Dresden and the famous "parterre de rois." He was only twenty-four years old, and took life gaily. He served near the Emperor in Poland, and everything seemed rose-colored to him when Napoleon greeted him: "Good-morning, Castellane, how do you do?" His journal of the campaign in Russia is interesting for its simplicity and the exactness and minuteness of its details. The notes on this campaign were written from day to day in a small note-book, which Castellane was fortunate enough to save in the retreat from Moscow; they are sometimes terribly eloquent in their simplicity. One day, he writes, during the retreat, "Horrible day; 27 degrees. An immense number of soldiers remained dead on the road. We saw many corpses of the Neapolitan division. The soldiers fall; a little blood comes to their lips, and all is over. When they see this sign of an approaching death, their comrades often give them a push, throw them on the ground, and take their clothes before they are quite dead." Castellane says that he saw no sign of irritation in the army when the Emperor left it to return by post to Paris. It has sometimes been alleged that his departure caused much exasperation among the troops.

"I saw nothing of the sort," says Castellane, "Our position was horrible; the army suffered most cruelly; our only hope was in the Emperor. Notwithstanding our disasters, our confidence in him was intact. We feared only that he might be made a prisoner on the road. Our warmest wish was to learn that he had arrived safe in France, knowing well that his return alone could stop a revolt of Germany, and that his presence was necessary for the reorganization of an army which should be in condition to come to our rescue and to save the remains of ours."

Castellane tells us that he lost seventeen horses in the Russian campaign; this number will give an idea of the hardship to which he was subjected, and we must remember that he was on the staff of the Emperor. He confesses that he always had something to eat, but that he did not eat with appetite. All his furs were lost or stolen, and he had nothing to protect himself with at the end of the campaign but a little lady's mantle which he had found. He covered with it one of his hands which had been frozen, and which he nearly lost. "In the midst of my sufferings," he records, "I could not help saying: We have the spectacle of great horrors; such things will never be seen again." He has at times very unexpected remarks, such as these written on his return to Paris:

"I have seen Ferreri with his wooden leg. Last winter he was courting Mrs. L. The Prince of Neuchâtel, to save the honor of General L., sent him to the Seventh Hussars, where he left his leg. M. de Septeuil, another aide-de-camp of the Prince of Neuchâtel, sent two years ago to Spain because he would not pay court to Princess Pauline and remained faithful to his mistress, Mrs. de B., lost a leg. M. de Carronville, sent to the Seventh Chasseurs on account of his liaison with Princess Pauline, has been killed. Truly the love-affairs of the aides de-camp of the Prince of Neuchâtel end very badly.

Correspondence.

THE CRIME AND THE PANIC OF 1873.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There are certain features of the literature of the present monetary battle that will tend to preserve it, in part at least, to generations that will long have forgotten the subject-matter of the controversy in which it served. Future writers upon logic will, I believe, discern in the pamphlets and editorials of the day a most bountiful storehouse of precedents wherewith to illustrate the fallacies incident to reasoning. What strata and trilobites are to the geologist, what the pyramids and papyri are to the historian, the utterances of the silver advocates will be to those who, in times to come, shall, for the warning of their cotemporaries, record and classify and analyze the errors of induction into which their ancestors have fallen.

But it is not my present purpose to give comfort to those who are full of despair at the vagaries of their countrymen, by showing that what appears to them to be entirely useless and silly, will come to be a blessing for which posterity will be grateful. I merely desire to record, that it may be preserved from oblivion, something which is being passed from mouth to mouth here in Montana to show the reckless disregard of consequences which the gold-bugs were guilty of when they obtained the demonetization of silver. The "crime of 1873" is charged with being the cause of the panic of that year. This view of the matter is naturally extremely popular here, where everybody is a "friend of silver." Creatures who, in order to attain their fell purpose of contraction of the currency, would not hesitate to deliver their country over to financial and industrial destruction, must be heartless and cruel beyond comprehension; and it is always comforting to feel that one's adversaries are bad and selfish, because it makes one doubly enthusiastic to be convinced that one's own side is the side of virtue and light. Far from me be it to pose as apologist of the "crime of '73." I cannot refrain, however, from calling attention to one reason why the panic must not be laid to the "crime"; and I do this, not as a carping and unfriendly critic, but in the sincere hope that the discrepancy may be explained.

I take it that it will not be disputed that, in the class of cases to which the circumstance under consideration belongs, it is an absolute necessity that phenomenon A, which is to be established as the cause of phenomenon B, must precede phenomenon B in time. Now, it

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is unfortunate that the panic did not come after its alleged cause, but preceded it several years; for, while it is true that the "crime" was committed in the early spring and the panic did not begin until late in summer, yet, as a panic is a condition of acute general distrust occasioned by a fear of impending disaster—as an event which is said to have produced alarm, must not only have occurred, but must also have been widely known—and as we have it upon the unimpeachable authority of Coin's handbook and similar learned works that the "crime" was not revealed and did not become generally known until several years after its perpetration, it certainly could not have frightened anybody. It is quite impossible to believe that an act of Congress, no matter how treasonable and hideous, could have produced financial frenzy among business men in '73 when they were not informed of its existence until '76 or '77.

MALCOLM MACLEOD.

BUTTE, MONTANA, July 3, 1896.

OUR SCHOOLS AND OUR CHAUVINISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If Mr. Plimsoll, the Englishman who has been investigating English school histories for unkind allusions to America, and who proposes to do the same by American school histories regarding views on England, could hear a few recitations in American public schools, his investigations would doubtless be of more profit. The average school history in use in American schools is not distinctly hostile to England, but an utterly unreasonable amount of space is devoted to war and to military campaigns. History is taught in the grammar grades, and generally by women of limited intellectual attainments. Military operations are generally pretty thoroughly gone over. A friend of mine, inquiring for work in history in a "crack" Chicago school, was regaled with the spectacle of a girl of thirteen years who went to the board and drew an elaborate plan of the fortifications of Vicksburg, and rattled off a lot of statistics and dates of men killed and wounded. Inquiry of the class as to financial, economic, and social events elicited no response; the teacher, a woman, gazed at the questioner with a puzzled and pained expression. It really wasn't fair to ask about tariffs, suffrage, inventions, foreign relations, and currency. It is doubtful if one teacher in ten admits to her class—if indeed she knows it herself—that many reputable Americans regard our war with Mexico as a national disgrace.

Few pupils leave the grammar school with the idea that there are any flaws in our machinery of government—even in our cities—or that our elected masters are ever anything but wise, uncorrupt, and far-sighted. Everything in America is perfect, and as a nation we have always been exactly right. This may help to account for the almost incredible conceit and blindness of the masses of America. Our conceit we dignify with the name of Patriotism (spelled with a large P), and our own blindness we cannot of course see. However, we bark our shins ever and anon on a few economic and financial stumps, and some of us wonder what's wrong. But political economy and finance are not taught in our public schools—that is, in the grammar schools—and the average voter never goes further than the grammar school.

Our little *pasear* into Mexico seems to have left no hostile feeling in us against the Mexicans, while our war and threatened war with France seem to have been forgotten. Tripoli is too weak and too distant to be hated; but with England the case is different. To the average school-teacher there is much in history that is intangible, much that requires pains and study to teach, but in war she finds firm ground. The child can be given a definite task; dates to commit, maps to draw, names to memorize, and pictures to look at. Of our foreign wars, those with England have been the easiest to teach, and have been consequently most thoroughly taught. Without any express instruction on that point, a child would imbibe hatred towards the country with which his ancestors had quarrels. Still, it seems queer that there should be such a lack of hostility towards France with us. Perhaps it is the strangeness of the language; perhaps it is an exaggerated sense of the importance of the services of Lafayette.

Now, I apprehend that in addition to the dislike imbibed in school towards England, the American voter dislikes that country from sympathy with the Irish and from the harpings of the protectionist press of America. The average unthinking man of the middle classes in this country is a Republican, and of a mental calibre to be influenced by the quadrennial mendacious suggestions of papers like the New York *Tribune* and its namesake in Chicago. In the lower classes, barring the Irish of all classes, there is little, if any, hostility towards England; in the upper classes, there is hardly any. It is confined chiefly to the middle, trading, commercial, small professional classes who read one rancid Republican paper, with occasional Sunday afternoon excursions in "literature" as far as *Munsey's* or *McClure's Magazine*—or the *Ladies' Home Journal*—or the *Review of Reviews*—or the *Chautauquan*. Mr. Plimsoll, I fancy, would find that the hostility to his country in America is confined to the half-educated whose ideals (and pronunciation) are those of the eighteenth century, and who, barring the Irish, are largely influenced by our shameless public press.

M.

July 4, 1896.

THE BYRON SCANDAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of July 9 there appears a review of the life of Mrs. Stowe. Commenting on the Byron matter the writer says: "That Mrs. Stowe fully believed her own theory of Lord Byron is unquestionable; but the motive of the exposure still remains unexplained." Mrs. Stowe's explanation of her motive was as follows: "A shameless attack on my friend's memory had appeared in the *Blackwood* of 1869, branding Lady Byron as the vilest of criminals, and recommending the Guiccioli book to a Christian public as interesting from the very fact that it was the avowed production of Lord Byron's mistress. . . . When time passed on and no voice was raised, I spoke."

That an excitable, emotional, and utterly unworldly person should have done what Mrs. Stowe did under the circumstances, can be a matter of surprise only to those who are so radically different from her in character as to be incapable of forming any adequate conception either of her motives or the deeds which flowed from them.

C. E. STOWE.

SIMSBURY, July 10, 1896.

Notes.

A TRANSLATION, by Mary J. Safford, of the poems of Johanna Ambrosius, the German peasant poetess, will be brought out by Roberts Brothers.

Macmillan & Co. have in hand 'The Geographical History of Mammals' in the Cambridge Geographical Series.

Dodd, Mead & Co. expect to have ready for subscribers 'American Book-Prices Current,' covering the auction sales at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia from September 1, 1895, to September 1, 1896, by the last of September. There will be a departure for the better from the English model followed last year.

T. Fisher Unwin, London, announces 'Monomotapa (Rhodesia),' by the Hon. A. Wilmot, researches respecting the Ophir of King Solomon; 'Tales of the Transvaal,' by Liscombe Searelle; and 'History and Criticism,' essays on the French Revolution and on "Faust," by H. Schütz Wilson.

A 'Geschichte der Isländischen Dichtung der Neuzeit,' by Dr. Karl Küchler, is announced by Hacke of Leipzig. The introduction, which has just appeared, gives a general survey of Icelandic literature from the middle of the twelfth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first number of the body of the book will treat of modern Icelandic novels.

'The Histoire Générale, du iv^e^ siècle à nos jours,' edited by MM. Lavisse and Rambaud (Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.), continues to appear regularly, and always with the excellent attributes that have marked it in the past, and are to be expected from these editors. It gives sound history, not without vivacity, and with a good apparatus of references to sources and other works. The typography makes it one of the easiest large works to consult. The three volumes now before us deal with the following epochs: The Religious Wars (1559-1648); Louis XIV. (1643-1715); The Eighteenth Century (1715-1789). M. Foucin writes the political history of France for the last period, and M. Lavasseur describes the economic condition of France between 1720 and 1788. The history of the United States is done by M. Moireau. The opportunity tempted us to ascertain the division of space in these three volumes, covering 230 years and containing 2,962 pages. We find that, out of this number, 512 pages are devoted to ecclesiastical history and the condition of religion; 541 pages are devoted to the history of France; 504 to Europe east of the Adriatic and Baltic; 375 to general European affairs, while 230 pages are given to Great Britain, 207 to Germany, 166 to Asia, and 120 to America.

A book of literary appreciations by Gaston Paris, 'Penseurs et Poètes' (Paris: Calmann Lévy), will be apt to surprise those who think of him as a philologist exclusively, and one of those philologists who, if they do not actually deny the existence of literature, at least condemn it. But M. Paris is far from belonging to that class, and the most cursory perusal of his admirable books on mediæval literature suffices to reveal his keen perception and enjoyment of literary beauties. The two longest articles are on Mistral and Sully-Prudhomme, and both are well worth reading. An excellent notice of James Darmesteter, a few souvenirs of Bida, and the funeral oration on Renan, form the remaining parts of the book, an account of Albert Sorel's reception at the French Academy closing the volume.

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The two most interesting studies in Gustave Larroumet's fourth series of 'Études de Littérature et d'Art' (Paris: Hachette) are those entitled "Le Monde et les Romanciers," and "L'Art Réaliste et la Critique." Others, on Edmond de Goncourt, Alphonse Daudet, and Pierre Loti, contain nothing very new or striking.

Paul Arène's 'Contes Choisis' (Paris: Charpentier & Fasquelle) is a collection of short tales which may be characterized as "a mixed lot." There are some admirable stories, some very strong ones, some exceedingly amusing, and too many commonplace ones. Taken altogether, there is in them plenty of genuine literary and artistic merit, no lack of dry humor or sparkling wit, and occasional pathos which stops short of sentimentality. "Les Haricots de Pitalugue," "Le Marchand de Marrons," "Mon Ami Naz," "Les Chats," and "La Clef de l'Oncle" deserve special mention.

Mme. Hector Malot's novel 'La Beauté' (Paris: Flammarion) is, in some respects, a curious production. The sculptor who has, deep down within him, some real genius, and s starving because he has neither found himself out nor sold any of his work, is of course a conceivable character; but the way in which his genius suddenly reveals itself, to suddenly vanish and as suddenly reappear in a new direction, is decidedly odd. Mme. Malot seems to have had another purpose besides the telling of her story, but if so she has failed to make it clear, and the book must pass for what it is—a fairly entertaining mediocre novel.

Paul Margueritte's "L'Eau qui dort" (Paris: Colin & Cie.) is scarcely worthy of publication. It is nothing more than a collection of rough sketches, *croquis*, notes, and observations; material for tales, but not possessing sufficient interest to warrant its production in permanent form.

Bibliographers and bibliophiles will be interested in a neat volume entitled 'Die Bücherliebhaberei am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts,' by Otto Mühlbrecht (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht). After some general remarks on bibliophilism, the author gives brief sketches of Gutenberg, Fust, Aldus Manutius, Caxton, Anton Koburger, Elzevir, and other famous printers to the end of the last century, followed by chapters on special bibliophilism, bibliomania, bibliophilism in England (based upon W. Roberts's 'The Book-Hunter in London' and 'Rare Books and their Prices'), bibliophilism in France (based upon G. Brunet's 'Du Prix des Livres Rares'), and bibliophilism in Holland. The bibliography contains titles of works on the invention of printing, books for and against Gutenberg as the inventor of the art, incunabula, curiosities and rarities, prohibited books, pseudonyms and anonyms, private prints, book-marks, ex-libris, and bindings. There are lists of printers before 1500 and of imprints or places of printing from 1457 to 1830, and a good index.

Part 2 of volume i. of the Massachusetts Census for 1895 has just been issued under the direction of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, Horace G. Wadlin. It shows a total population of 2,500,183, or an increase of 261,240 over the Federal Census of 1890. This is most clearly and intelligently displayed in detail, and in comparison with all previous censuses, Provincial, Federal, and State from 1765 down. An account is given of the founding, incorporation, partition, or annexation of each town and city so far as the records permit.

We have received the first number of a "Cumulative Index to a Selected List of Periodicals," dated June, 1896, that issues from the Cleveland (O.) Public Library as its individual enterprise. If supported, it will appear monthly, and the novelty of the scheme lies in the fact that each number, after the first, will embrace all the preceding numbers of the year; the last number thus superseding the rest, and becoming an annual volume. This is made feasible by the use of the linotype process. The subscription price will be determined by the support received, and probably at best will be not less than five dollars (reckoning 400 subscribers). The new Index, of course, competes with Poole's, and one would be sorry to see the latter imperilled. It differs in cataloguing, not only subjects, but authors. The form is quarto.

Whittier's descent from Christopher Hussey of Hampton is circumstantially denied by the Rev. Alonzo H. Quint in the July number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. The true ancestor was Robert Hussey of Dover, between whom and Christopher no relationship has as yet been demonstrated. Mr. Henry F. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England" deal chiefly with the Sherman connection, and no better example could be given of this searcher's mode of throwing a flood of light upon family kinships. Announcement is made that the arrangement under which Mr. Waters has hitherto prosecuted his researches terminates this year unless funds are forthcoming to sustain him, as is greatly to be desired, for a successor is hardly likely ever to be found possessing his rare qualifications. Subscriptions in any amount may be sent to Mr. John Ward Dean, editor of the *Register*, 18 Somerset St., Boston.

History more than art is the theme of Dr. Garnett's monograph on "Richmond" (Richmond of the Thames and not of the James) in the June *Portfolio* (Macmillan). This favorite suburb of London furnishes ample material for agreeable discourse such as Dr. Garnett habitually indulges in, supplementing it here with a profusion of illustrations from old prints and recent sketches, with here and there an etching.

With the current issue, the *Savoy* (London: Leonard Smithers) turns monthly from quarterly, and will now lend itself to serial stories, beginning with one by Mr. George Moore. Mr. Aubrey Beardsley will continue to determine the character of the original illustrations. Noteworthy in the table of contents are Havelock Ellis's second article on Nietzsche (there will be a third), and W. B. Yeats's first of three articles on "William Blake and his Illustrations to the Divine Comedy." Four facsimiles of these strange inventions accompany the article, and one may now compare with Ary Scheffer's and Doré's Francesca da Rimini Blake's feverish vision, whose weakest portion is precisely that which gives pretext and a name to the whole design. As the older illustrators used to show Leander, for instance, swimming the Hellespont and also cast ashore in the same picture, so Blake presents, in a kind of sun, the lovers kissing, that day they read no more, beside their expiatory endless flitting through the shades.

The seventh session of the International Geological Congress will be held at St. Petersburg about the end of August, 1897, early notice of it being now given in the hope of inducing geologists in all parts of the world to arrange their plans so as to embrace its great advantages. Extended excursions are announced, the most important being to the Ural Mountains before, and to the Caucasus after, the meeting at St. Petersburg; the Emperor of Russia having, on the favorable report of the Minister of Public Ways, granted to all geologists duly enrolled for the meeting free first-class railway tickets, good during their sojourn in Russia. In view of so munificent a hospitality, our geologists can hardly afford to stay at home next summer.

The Third International Psychological Congress will be held at Munich, Bavaria, from the 4th to the 7th of August in the halls of the University. The first of these congresses met in Paris during the International Exposition of 1889, under the direction of Prof. Charles Richet, and was devoted to "physiological psychology," and especially to the investigation of the phenomena of hypnotism. The second, known as "The Congress for Experimental Psychology," was held at London in 1892, and, after listening to and discussing forty addresses and papers, adjourned for four years and selected Munich as the next place of meeting. The committee of organization appointed at that time has greatly enlarged the scope of the congress, which will comprise five independent sections: (1.) The physical basis of psychical phenomena, the anatomy of the brain and the province of psychophysics in general (thirty-four papers). (2.) Phenomena of consciousness in the strict sense of the term, psychology of the normal individual, including laws of association, activity of the imagination, doctrines of the emotions and of the will, the evolution of the personality, facts of ethics, etc. (thirty-seven papers). (3.) Psychopathology, genius and insanity, illusions of the senses, fixed ideas, suggestion, psychology and criminology (twenty-seven papers). (4.) Psychology of sleep, dreaming, hypnotism in its application to the healing art, telepathy, mind-reading, etc. (thirty-two papers). (5.) Comparative psychology, mental capacities, and moral conceptions of the lower races of mankind, graphology, the relation of psychology to pedagogy, the instruction of backward children through suggestion, and kindred topics (twenty-four papers). Americans, English, Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians will address the congress each in his own language; Russians will use French. One of the papers read will be by the wife of Prof. Sidgwick of Cambridge, England. The price of membership is fifteen marks, and men and women are admitted on an equal footing in every respect. In the Physical Institute of the University there will be at the same time an exhibition of psychophysical apparatus.

—The first part of the 'English Dialect Dictionary,' edited by Dr. Joseph Wright, printed at the Clarendon Press, and published in London by Henry Frowde, in New York by Messrs. Putnam, extends from A to Ballot, and ends with p. 144. This gives a fair measure of the ultimate bulk of the work, and shows that its completion will be reasonably prompt. The same tract requires 1,014 pages of a larger quarto in the 'New English Dictionary.' The typography of the Dialect Dictionary is in a high degree beautiful and agreeable to the eye, in two broad columns, with full-face titles, and a generous sprinkling of large letter. The pronunciation is indicated by a special, not difficult, phonetic alphabet. Etymologies come last in order, in company with illustrative quotations from standard authors or from early dictionaries—Chaucer, Gower, Spenser, Shakspere, Jonson, Milton,

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Bunyan, Butler, Pepys, Addison, down to Tennyson in his dialect verse, Crockett, and Ian Maclaren. Cross-references help us through the maze of variant spellings. The quotations are very liberal in amount, and are drawn from the great store of published glossaries produced by the English Dialect Society, as well as from some in manuscript and the readings of numerous volunteers. The localities of each locution are systematically indicated. Dr. Wright reserves his introduction proper for the close of the work, but stakes out the scope as embracing "the complete vocabulary of all English dialect words which are still in use or are known to have been in use at any time during the last two hundred years in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. It will also include American and Colonial dialect words which are still in use in Great Britain and Ireland, or which are to be found in early printed dialect books and glossaries." This demarcation should stimulate American curiosity regarding the Dictionary, seeing that dialectic words and meanings may well survive among us which have become obsolete in the mother country. We can do little more than thus describe an enterprise which has our hearty good wishes, and which is less a novel revelation (though it is that, too) than a skilful arrangement in one alphabet of the lore amassed for a quarter of a century. It is one more feather in the cap of English philology directed upon the English language.

—We are glad to note the official contradiction of a rumor that the Oxford University Press would not push to completion the Oxford Dictionary upon the same lines as heretofore. That were a calamity the thought of which can hardly be entertained. The work as conceived and thus far carried on nearly to the letter G is a monument of which no other language can boast or is likely soon to boast —both of erudition and of disinterested co-operation; a foundation on which all our future English etymologizing must rest, and which is worthy of a large pecuniary sacrifice. On the heels of this contradiction it is particularly gratifying to record the fact that the University of Freiburg, which at present numbers among its professors Dr. F. Kluge, author of the Etymological Dictionary of the German Language, and several other distinguished philologists, has just been giving public expression to the high appreciation in which the 'New English Dictionary' is held by German scholars. In conferring the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, *honoris causa*, upon Dr. Murray, they use the following language, which American scholars with one accord will echo:

"In offering you this degree, our Faculty has been as much determined by the grandeur of your lexicographical performance as by the wish that German science should, in academical form, bear public testimony to its admiration for your life-work. The unrivalled and unique organization, the profound grasp of the individual problems of word history, and the comprehensive mastery of the history of the English language, as a great whole, will be, in the future, a model to us Germans, if we one day, after the completion of Grimm's 'Wörterbuch,' turn our eyes to the plan of a 'New German Dictionary.' The Faculty cherishes the wish that it may be granted to you to conduct your great undertaking to a happy conclusion, that the grand programme which you have elaborated and carried through in the early letters will be continued on the same admirable scale in succeeding parts. If the concurrent voice of German science gives you an assurance that you have hitherto realized your programme with a completeness beyond all anticipation, we would fain address to you a hearty godspeed for the continuation of your labors. We know what exertions, physical and mental, you devote to the *magnum opus*, and we earnestly wish that courage, and strength, and cheerfulness may remain with you undiminished for the work that still lies before you."

—Dr. C. W. Larison's 'Reminissensez ov Scul Lif' (Ringoes, N. J.: Fonic Publishing House), though tediously minute and spun out, are graphic and impressive. They are mainly devoted to the District School, of which they give a vivid picture, portraying every teacher and almost every fellow-pupil of the author. The historical value of this representation of a crude and barbarous relation between teacher and taught—the pranks, the floggings, and the barrings-out—is by no means inconsiderable. The author was never instructed by women, and makes no reflections on the cause of the great amelioration in the manners of the district school since the employment of women has grown to be all but universal. Another chapter, scarcely less suggestive and even more grewsome, is that on manners at one of Philadelphia's leading medical schools on the eve of the civil war, before the formal secession of the Southern students. Dr. Larison's exceptional difficulty in learning to spell, which early made him a radical phonetic reformer, has resulted in his clothing his narrative in a special phonetic type, which offers a decided impediment to those who read with their eyes and not with their ears. He has needlessly enhanced this difficulty by enforcing another hobby, viz., the conversion of strong verbs into weak, writing *nod* for knew and known, *sited* for sat, etc.; and by introducing an epicene pronoun *thone* for his or her, and even for they, those, and "one." In all this he illustrates his own observation, that boys initiated by hazing at school were prompt to torment "every verdant new-comer."

—There have been few more important exhibitions in Paris recently than the Exposition du Livre, held some eighteen months since in the Palais de l'Industrie. It had, however, a retrospective rather than a contemporary interest. Now, serving as a sequel to it, an international exhibition of the modern book has been opened at the Salon de l'Art Nouveau. This private gallery, decorated within by M. Besnard, without by Mr. Brangwyn, has become known chiefly as the headquarters of all that is—in latter-day cant —most advanced and revolutionary in modern art, domestic or foreign. As a showroom it has attempted to do much the same thing that the German *Pan* would accomplish as an illustrated periodical. But in the new exhibition a more liberal standard has been set, though in one or two sections, especially in the array of foreign books, there is no mistaking the ruling prejudices and tendencies of its Directors. The collection is arranged in several separate departments. There is a fine series of manuscript and printed books, illustrated with original drawings, though only French collectors have been borrowed from. Then there are books entirely engraved on wood, Pissarro's 'Queen of the Fishes,' for instance; or else with text and drawings alike lithographed or etched. Then follow books produced in the ordinary way, classified according to the method of illustration used, whether wood-engraving or lithography, whether etching or process; and in this division is found, among English specimens, a preponderance of the work of men who pose as decadents, or mystics, or symbolists. United States publishers make so poor a showing that the American section really is not worth notice; it could not well be more unrepresentative. For many people nothing in the gallery will have greater fascination than the authors' manuscripts, including as they do the work of Balzac and Baudelaire, of Gautier and Dumas *père*, of Hugo and Renan, and, indeed, of such a multitude of distinguished men that to mention them all would be to write another catalogue. None of the materials used in the manufacture of books has been omitted: paper, ink, type, all have received due attention. Nor have book-bindings and original designs for covers been neglected, even if here, more perhaps than in other sections, French designers alone have had justice done to them. The truth is, it would have been wiser not to give the collection the ambitious title of international. Book-plates are shown, of course, but fortunately not in such immoderate numbers as to satisfy the irrepressible collector. And, not least important, there is a well-made catalogue, printed on good paper, and decorated by Vallotton with designs, more pleasing in themselves than appropriate to its pages; but it abounds with inexcusable misprints.

—The first International Congress of Publishers met in Paris on June 16, under the patronage of MM. Hanotaux, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Rambaud, Minister of Public Instruction, and under the presidency of M. Henry Boucher. About two hundred persons, representing the chief publishing-houses of Europe, were present. During the sessions of the Congress, M. Georges Masson, the newly elected president, occupied the chair. Much of the work of the Congress was done in committee, and the debates in the public sessions were smooth, for the most part, and perhaps a little dull. Nothing, in fact, was reported which could be called contentious. The first question concerned what is called the *dépôt légal*—that is, the deposit of two copies of each book that is published in the national collection. This was made obligatory in France as long ago as the time of Francis I., and is required in other countries, though not universally. It was decided by the Congress that this deposit ought to be made by the publisher, or, failing him, by the author, and not by the printer, as is now customary. Another important question concerned the publication of extracts from a book, whether for mere temporary use in newspapers or magazines, or in the more permanent form of a volume of selections. The reproduction of a literary work by means of public lectures was also considered at the same time. It was held that, in principle, every reproduction ought to depend on the authorization of the owner of the copyright. Still, from an international point of view, brief extracts in books for school use might be reciprocally permitted, as well as passages quoted for criticism, or in literary theses. The reproduction of any book by means of public lectures without the consent of its owner was condemned. The Congress also passed resolutions urging adhesions to the convention of Berne, and demanding that in catalogues there should be added to the description of *formats* now in use a statement of the dimensions of each book in centimetres. The protection of photographs was also discussed, but was passed over without action. A report from M. Ferdinand Brunetière on the reproduction of newspaper articles was also passed over, owing to the absence of its writer. Towards the end of the Congress its calm was broken by a proposition

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made from the floor by a publisher whose name is not given in any of the half-dozen newspaper reports that we have seen. He raised brusquely the scandalous question of "editions." Both the public and the authors, he said, were cheated by a use of that word which is far too common. To divide a thousand copies of a book into five editions, or to use the word "thousand" on a title-page to designate an actual five hundred, was a cheat that justly called for the intervention of the State. This outspoken declaration threw a coolness over the meeting. The question was handled very gingerly by the Congress, which voted finally to take no action whatever in the matter, "comme ne présentant pas d'intérêt international." The Congress ended on the 19th with the usual banquet and speeches.

STEVENSON'S VAILIMA LETTERS.

Vailima Letters: Being Correspondence addressed by Robert Louis Stevenson to Sidney Colvin. In two volumes. Chicago: Stone & Kimball.

THE personal affection with which Stevenson inspired so many of his contemporaries was due as much, perhaps, to his amiable egotism as to the fascination of his finished work. For this wide congregation of readers, Stevenson's letters, of which these from Samoa are a first instalment, will have something of the charm of a new romance. They unite the exotic interest of a book of travels with the record of a literary life, and in both these phases present the self-painted portrait of a man of genius, who for a brief space exercised a larger personal sway than any other literary worker of his generation. In this frank and genial presence the critical attitude may be relaxed. By reason of our closeness of range we are precluded from assigning to a writer of our own language and time his abiding place in literature, but of the man's personality no future age can be so competent a judge as our own. Stevenson's works belong to the future; Stevenson himself was ours.

The Vailima Letters extend from November, 1890, to October, 1894. They were written to Mr. Sidney Colvin in pursuance of a plan, not always punctually adhered to, of furnishing Stevenson's friends in England with a monthly account of his Samoan life. They occupy a place apart. Stevenson had never before maintained a regular correspondence; he was subject, like Scott and most men of his genus, to attacks of epistolary paralysis. Already in the first monthly budget, however, he has a glimpse of the trick: "I begin to see," he says, "the whole scheme of letter-writing: you sit down every day and pour out an equable stream of twaddle." The letters were begun without a thought of publicity. It is not until June, 1892, that it occurs to him: "This diary of mine to you would make good pickings after I am dead, and a man could make some kind of a book out of it without much trouble." Upon this hint Mr. Colvin has acted—wisely, however, allowing the book to make itself; nor is there, from this point on, any alteration in the easy undress of Stevenson's manner to indicate that he had the wider audience in view.

To all who have felt personally drawn to Stevenson, the chief charm of his letters will be, of course, the underlying one: the winning character they unconsciously reveal of the writer—the indefatigable energy of the invalid, his wide sympathies constantly enlisted in behalf of others, the persistent cheerfulness of the homesick exile, and the resolute will to maintain, in spite of the unsound body, a sound and active mind. His industry was remarkable. "The ancient earth summoned him to a daily birth." He fought his way through tropical forests and endured the arduous outdoor labors of a planter, in an athletic effort to wrest health from an unwilling destiny. At home, page after page passed painfully from his correcting pen to the distant printer. And his lively sympathy with the "distracted archipelago of children" in whose midst he lived, led him to take an active part in the complicated island politics, until Tusitala had become an important factor, to be reckoned with at every political crisis. This was the range of his activity—broken often by illness—which these letters cover. "It is a hard and interesting and beautiful life," he writes; and over his narrative of its difficulties, its interests, and its beauties he has spread that charm which is peculiarly his own.

To a certain class of readers, which, Mr. Lang believes, will constitute the majority, the ample record of Stevenson's literary work will be the most valuable portion of these volumes. References to these labors are full and frequent. He drove four-in-hand, a practice which has left us to regret so many fragments among his literary remains. Many an instructive paragraph bears witness to the scrupulous care with which he made what Kipling calls "the most delicate inlay work in black and white." Although he sometimes devoted six and even eight hours a day to composition, his books grew slowly. "I break down at every paragraph," he writes of 'The Ebb Tide,' which of all his works cost him the most labor, "and lie here and sweat till I can get one sentence wrung out after another." We can understand, after that, the heartfelt "Deo gratias" with which the manuscript of that tale is signed. Financial needs added their irksome pressure. "If literature were only a pastime!" he exclaimed; and again, in a fit of more general disgust, he cried: "The devil fly away with literature for the basest sport in creation." But there is also ample evidence of the high reverence he felt for the more essential qualities of his art, around which he had thrown the well-fitting garment of his style. Appreciative criticisms of the work of his fellow-craftsmen abound, and, in judging of his own creations, he is singularly free from the fatuity which usually attends the self-estimates of authors. 'The Beach of Falesá' he regards as in some ways his best work, and "ill to equal." "I'm not shining by modesty, but I do just love the color and movement of that piece," and in this judgment the public has followed him. It is the perfection of story-telling. Of 'The Master of Ballantrae' he writes: "That lacked all pleasurableness, and hence was imperfect in essence"—the defect which all thoughtful readers have felt; for, strong as the story is, it contains not one sympathetic character. 'David Balfour' is a "pretty piece of workmanship"; "I am far from displeased with the tailie." And it is a satisfaction to find him denouncing his unpardonable 'Body-Snatcher' as "beastly."

Stevenson enjoyed a full measure of popularity during his lifetime, but it is pathetic to observe towards the end his haunting fear lest that popularity be on the wane. "If only the public will continue to support me!" is his cry in 1892. "I lost my chance not dying; there seems blooming little fear of it now." In his last sad letter, he states his position gloomily: "I am a fictitious article and have long known it. I am read by journalists, by my fellow-novelists, and by boys; with these, *incipit et explicit* my vogue." The vigor of 'Weir of Hermiston' shows how groundless were these fears, but Stevenson in his last years had joined the old philosophers in proclaiming the futility of struggling for a recompense: "The world must return some day to the word duty, and be done with the word reward. There are no rewards, and plenty duties. And the sooner a man sees that and acts upon it like a gentleman or a fine old barbarian, the better for himself." "And yet," he writes two years later, "and yet—one would like to leave an image for a few years upon men's minds—for fun."

These letters are not "composed," but Stevenson's literary art is spontaneously apparent in the passages which describe natural phenomena in the tropics. He went "crazy over out-door life," and labored until he was "in such a state that Carolina Wilhelmina Skeggs could scarce have found a name for it." The weird power of the tropical forest appealed to him:

> "My long, silent contests in the forest have had a strange effect on me. The unconcealed vitality of these vegetables, their exuberant number and strength, the attempts—I can use no other word—of lianas to enwrap and capture the intruder, the awful silence, the knowledge that all my efforts are only like the performance of an actor, the thing of a moment, and the wood will silently and swiftly heal them up with fresh effervescence; . . . the whole silent battle, murder, and slow death of the contending forest weigh upon the imagination."

At another time he catches a glimpse of the weirdness which for the Samoan filled all nature with poetry and awe: "In the forest, the dead wood is phosphorescent; some nights the whole ground is strewn with it, so that it seems like a grating over a pale hell." It is "rather bogey even." Occasionally is revealed the hand that wrote the 'Travels with a Donkey,' as when he is telling of his struggles with the sensitive plant: "Rome had virtue and knowledge; Rome perished. The sensitive plant has indigestible seeds—so they say—and it will flourish forever. I give my advice thus to a young plant—have a strong root, a weak stem, and an indigestible seed; so you will outlast the eternal city, and your progeny will clothe mountains, and the irascible planter will blaspheme in vain."

Into the details of island politics it is unnecessary to enter here. Stevenson's ringing letters to the *Times*, and the direct influence he exerted, are a well-known chapter in the history of the Samoan troubles. The work was not a meddler's pleasure, but a hard and irksome duty which his generous nature imposed upon him. "Politics is a vile and bungling business," he writes; "I used to think meanly of the plumber, but how he shines beside the politician!" We confess that to us these accounts, by a keen and sympathetic observer, of foreign intrigue and native war are intensely interesting reading. If Mr. Colvin grew tired of the "blacks and chocolates," it is evident from his footnote and epilogue that he regretted having said so. Stevenson took the rebuff to heart. "Please remember that my life passes among 'my blacks and chocolates.' If I were to do as you propose in a bit of a tiff, it would cut me off entirely from my life. . . . I think you are truly a little too cockney with me." Mr. Colvin's literary criticisms, too, however salutary, seem to have been scarcely soothing. But the interests of the islanders were vital to Steven-

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son. His duty to them was the duty that lay nearest to him, and in this conscientious spirit his 'Footnote to History' was conceived. In his eagerness that its publication should be timely, he even did violence to his nature and forebore to polish. The "Road of Loving Hearts" is a testimonial of the love the natives bore him, the more impressive since it came from men averse to manual labor and still unconvinced of the utility of roads. The descriptions of Samoan manners, their feasts, their sports, the solemn preparation of kava, are the best we have. The passage deserves quotation in which the European draws a contrast between himself and the Samoan whom he is instructing:

"The Polynesian loves gaiety—I feed him with decimals, the mariner's compass, derivations, grammar, and the like; delecting myself, after the manner of my race, *moult tristement*. I suck my paws; I live for my dexterities and by my accomplishments; even my clumsinesses are my joy—my woodcuts, my stumbling on the pipe, this surveying even—and even weeding sensitive; anything to do with the mind, with the eye, with the hand—with a part of *me;* diversion flows in these ways for the dreary man. But gaiety is what these children want; to sit in a crowd, tell stories and pass jests, to hear one another laugh and scamper with the girls. It's good fun, too, I believe, but not for R. L. S. *ætat.* 40. Which I am now past forty, Custodian, and not one penny the worse that I can see; as amusable as ever. . . . . Only, if ever I was gay, which I misremember, I am gay no more. And here is poor Henry passing his evenings on my intellectual husks, which the professors masticated."

But Stevenson had his moments of outward gaiety at least, and these volumes record his revels, now as the merry host, now doing "the affable celebrity life-size" in Apia, now as the chief guest at the feasts of the native king. Cheerfulness was his rôle. "I believe in the ultimate decency of things," he wrote; "ay, and if I woke in hell, should still believe it!" And yet, though without bitterness, his life was essentially a sad one. "I was only happy once; that was at Hyères; it came to an end from a variety of reasons, decline of health, change of place, increase of money, age with his stealing steps; since then, as before then, I know not what it means. But I know pleasure still; pleasure with a thousand faces, and none perfect, a thousand tongues all broken, a thousand hands, and all of them with scratching nails." To a man of his ardent and athletic temperament, the restraints which his frailty of body imposed upon him were humiliating. And then, through all the years of his wanderings in the South Seas, ran the sorrow of the exile, haunted by "old memories of the wet moorland." When he read in the 'Stickit Minister' the dedication to himself, 'Where about the graves of the martyrs the whaups are crying, *his* heart remembers now,' "Ah, by God, it does!" he wrote. "Singular that I should fulfil the Scot's destiny throughout, and live a voluntary exile, and have my head filled with the blessed, beastly place all the time!" He wished that he might be buried among the hills under the heather, but he knew that Vaea Mountain was to be his tomb, and that was beautiful, too. He died as he had hoped to die, and not in the Land of Counterpane.

The beauty of these letters lies, as we have said, in the character of the noble fellow—Stevenson would have liked the word—that speaks from their pages. There is no harsh judgment, no false or bitter note. The cheerful benevolence of the man kept his sweet qualities on top. But he was unwilling to pose as anything like a saint, and is reported to have said so with somewhat profane emphasis; as a man among men, he wished to have it known that he was subject to the frailties of his fellows. "Vital—that's what I am at first—wholly vital, with a buoyancy of life"; and although he spoke these words of his writings, they apply to himself as well. Herein we have the clue to that personal affection which he inspired and which these letters can only serve to deepen.

THE MAID OF ORLEANS.

Joan of Arc. By Francis C. Lowell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1896.

Jeanne d'Arc: Her Life and Death. By Mrs. Oliphant. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1896.

Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc. By the Sieur Louis de Conte, Her Page and Secretary (Mark Twain). Harper & Bros. 1896.

One finds it hard to avoid the use of swelling words when he writes about the Maid of Orleans. Even if we believed with Cauchon and the court at Rouen that she was a witch, we could not class her with the commonplace witches of Suffolk and Salem. If we discard the witch theory, nothing is left but to honor the heroine and martyr. Revering her thus, one ventures to say that the perennial interest in her career and character is a credit to human nature. Her patriotism has been most praised, but enthusiasm, unselfishness, and devotion are her elementary and permanent qualities. Just now the sentiment of nationality holds the field. In some later age another political ideal may fill the same place. Enthusiasm, unselfishness, and devotion can never be out of date.

The simultaneous appearance of three English books on Joan of Arc shows that the race she turned back from the Loire is willing to contribute to the growth of her fame. Perhaps Mrs. Oliphant should be exempted from ancestral complicity in the Hundred Years' War. As a Scot she formally wipes her hands of it and of Joan's execution. "Scotland is entirely guiltless of this crime. The Scots were fighting on the side of France through all these wars, a little, perhaps, for love of France, but much more out of hostility to the English." The two American authors lack Mrs. Oliphant's loophole, and must acknowledge the sins of their ancestors. They do their best, however, to make the *amende honorable*. Fervid admiration shines through the sound and exhaustive narrative of Mr. Lowell. Mark Twain equals Michelet in the sincerity and volume of his praise. We feel sure that if they, with Mrs. Oliphant, were established a court to decide upon Joan's right to canonization, she would soon be exalted from her present low state of "Venerable" to full and unquestioned saintship.

The nature of each of these three volumes can best be indicated by a cross-reference to the nature of the other two. Mr. Lowell writes a learned and compact biography. Mark Twain writes a romantic character-sketch. Mrs. Oliphant, with only moderate success, strives to combine the merits of both biography and romance; strives to combine fact with picturesqueness, history with rhetoric. None of them makes a stumbling-block of the psychological problem presented by Joan's obedience to her Voices. They trace her, step by step, from Domremy to the stake in the light of her deeds, rather than in the light of her mysterious connection with the spiritual world. Mr. Lowell is particularly clear in his attitude towards the extra-human promptings by which she was stirred. He accepts her own statements at the trial concerning them.

"Joan had subjective sensations of light and sound . . . without external cause sufficient to produce like sensations in others. Precisely what these sensations were, we do not know. The sensations of sounds sometimes, at least, were those of particular words; the sensations of sight were less definite, but apparently they were sometimes visions of definite forms in human similitude. The sensations of sound were usually accompanied by a somewhat indefinite sensation of light. Apart from these abnormal sensations, Joan seems to have been a girl perfectly healthy and well developed, both physically and mentally. . . . It seems to follow, then, that our opinion concerning Joan's insanity or inspiration is likely to depend not much on our beliefs concerning Joan, but principally upon our beliefs concerning insanity and inspiration."

This is a clear attitude for a historian to adopt towards a psychological problem, but it is too short a cut to be wholly satisfactory. Our writers alike neglect to consider the influence of folk-lore on the girl's mind. The prophecy of Merlin in its Champagnard form foretold the salvation of France by a virgin after its betrayal by a woman. Isabella, the Dauphin's mother, might well, in 1423, have seemed to be the traitor. The local version of the prophecy made the virgin come out of the forest of Domremy—a pretty direct prompting to sensitively patriotic minds in that region. We do not pretend that folk-lore offers a complete solution of the difficulty, but it deserves to be noticed before the riddle is handed over in its nakedness to pathologists and metaphysicians. Comparing our three authors in the important matter of knowledge, it may be said that Mr. Lowell alone has mastered the sources and literature of the subject. Erudition is hardly to be expected in Mark Twain's romantic portrayal of one whose charm is independent of minute lore. But Mrs. Oliphant, even while writing for a hero-worship series, might have fortified herself with more material without detriment to the strictly heroic aspects of her theme. Let us now proceed to a separate examination of the volumes.

In the case of Joan, *Aberglaube* began early. Mr. Lowell's design is to exclude the legendary element by stating just what is known of her actual life and achievements. He treats her contemporaries in the same way. For instance, he rejects the romantic story, so long accepted by English historians, of the influence of Agnes Sorel upon Charles VII. in the years 1442–43. There is hardly a shadow of doubt that Charles was weak beyond redemption. On the other hand, Cauchon receives partial rehabilitation. For the world he has long been "that bastard of Satan, Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais." Mr. Lowell does not praise him but gives him his due. "It needs no argument to prove that his belief in her possession by the Devil was sincere; and his tireless energy and eminent respectability made him a most suitable agent to treat for her surrender to the English." Joan herself stands the test of Mr. Lowell's winnowing process better than any of her enemies or of her friends. Her personality is so strong and pure and simple that the fiercest light of comparative criticism fails to disclose a serious blot. We now see a different character from Voltaire's "La Pucelle," the distorted victim of the most disgraceful poem

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ever written by a man of European influence. Quicherat's Joan of Arc—for of course Mr. Lowell, with all others, must follow Quicherat—is unsmirched. She is a militant girl-prophetess, merciful, guileless, and with but one aim. Her mission accomplished, she would fain go home to her mother. Believing in herself, she wins the trust of a people cowed by fourteen years of defeat and treachery. She succeeds in everything for a time; then for a time fails in almost everything. Only sixteen months after her appearance to Robert de Baudricourt at Vaucouleurs, she is taken prisoner at Compiègne. In confinement and under trial she shows a steady confidence in her inspiration, and dies at the stake with *Jesus* on her lips. Such is the nature of a life that closed before its twentieth year. The evidence is full and certain and points to one conclusion. The Maid of Orleans is raised above cavil or innuendo. She is the supreme triumph of the French peasantry. The payment of the five milliards was much, but it was less than the production of such a paragon.

Joan's active life falls into three periods. The first extends from the beginning of her mission to the coronation at Rheims; the second comprises her operations in northern France; the third covers the year between her capture at Compiègne and her execution at Rouen. The first period is her time of triumph, the second her time of misfortune, the third her time of trial. Mr. Lowell, though he does not make this formal distinction, seems to bear it in mind. The first and third periods are treated at considerably greater length than the second. The relief of Orleans, the campaign of the Loire, the capture of Troyes, and the coronation are the coruscating incidents of Joan's first period. They are the justification of her mission and the cause of modern French allegiance to her memory. Mr. Lowell describes carefully the stages of her progress towards the command of the Dauphin's army—the conviction carried by her sincerity, the first interview at Chinon, the examination at Poitiers. The strong impression left by a scrutiny of these events is that the great used her to impress the masses. On the march to Orleans she was deceived by the false topographical information of her own staff, who distrusted her plan of attacking the enemy at sight. The people of Orleans believed where the politicians and generals doubted or wavered. The moment she came within their walls the citizens felt that they were delivered, or, as the Journal of the Siege puts it, "already unsieged." "Now all felt greatly comforted, and, as it were, already unsieged, through the divine virtue of which they had heard in this simple maid; whom they regarded right lovingly, both men and women and likewise the little children." By the inspiration of confidence like this the victories of the first period were won.

During the second period the Maid was baffled and thwarted by the intrigues of French and Burgundian politicians, and her prestige suffered decline. When she offered up her arms in the Church of St. Denis, her work was done. The retreat from before Paris was her final disappointment. "Before that time she had met with many obstacles, but had overcome them; thereafter her efforts generally failed." Even her immediate contemporaries could see the difference. "Thus," says Cagny, "was broken the will of the Maid and of the King's army." Mr. Lowell gives a good account of Joan's captivity and the negotiations for her purchase. We are disposed to palliate her attempt at suicide in Beaurevoir Castle on the ground of her defenceless position. The circumstances of her jump from the tower were not precisely those of Rebecca's threat to Bois-Guilbert, but they might have become so at any moment. Kipling's advice to the young British soldier will plead for the distracted Maid:

> "When you're wounded and left on Afghanistan's plains,
> And the women come out to cut up what remains,
> Jest roll to your rifle and blow out your brains
> An' go to your Gawd like a soldier."

Joan's plight seemed to her equally desperate. We also lay little stress on her recantation. Mr. Lowell is most intelligible here. The Maid was illiterate. It was represented to her that if she changed her dress and submitted to the Church's authority her life would be spared. She must have been ignorant of what she was signing. The skill she displayed in her oral defence was inapplicable to a written document. In the sense that she denied her Voices and abandoned her self-respect under pressure of fear, she made no recantation.

We offer but two criticisms of Mr. Lowell's work which can be construed as adverse. Though clear, the merits of his style hardly come up to the merits of his research and reflection. In the second place, we think that he should have insisted more fully on the failure of the French to lift a finger in Joan's behalf during her captivity. He, of course, calls attention to their remissness, but a fuller analysis of motive should accompany the statement of such scandalous ingratitude. After her failures, did her own people regard her as a witch? Or had she become inconvenient? Or was neglect to act due to mere supineness? It seems to us that a complete life of Joan ought to discuss at length the matter of her desertion.

Mrs. Oliphant's 'Jeanne d'Arc' is somewhat unfortunate in the moment of its appearance. Had it been published either earlier or later it might have escaped comparison with Mr. Lowell's careful study. The mere fact of juxtaposition renders comparison inevitable, and the result is wholly in Mr. Lowell's favor. Mrs. Oliphant is an experienced and skilful bookmaker, but her facility of style has led in this instance to an imperfect study of the period and person treated. Bits of rhetorical writing (*e. g.*, pp. 12-19, 140-143) fail to compensate for lack of thorough research. The author's personality is obtruded between the subject and the reader. There are few traces of the sifting process; and though graphic passages sometimes occur, the general effect is one of haste and crudeness. We could easily make a long list of Mrs. Oliphant's shortcomings, but their general nature will be seen from half-a-dozen instances.

We are told that France in the fifteenth century had ceased to be the centralized kingdom it once was. "A strong and splendid kingdom to which, in early ages, one great man had given the force and supremacy of a united nation, had fallen into disintegration," etc. Does Mrs. Oliphant refer here to Charlemagne, and was Charlemagne a Frenchman? Chapter II. opens: "In the year 1424, the year in which, after the battle of Agincourt, France was delivered over to Henry V., an extraordinary event occurred in the life of this little French peasant." How could one who knew anything about the period be betrayed into such chronology? Henry V. was already in his grave in 1424. Again, in translating the letter addressed by Joan to the English just prior to the relief of Orleans, Mrs. Oliphant renders William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, William de la Poule, Count of Sulford. She styles Normandy "the most securely English of all French provinces," whereas the district of Bordeaux was more English than England. She amusingly misstates the amount of Joan's purchase money, putting it at 6,000 instead of at 10,000 livres. Six thousand was the first offer, but it was refused. The division of the purchase money is also a source of error. It went to John of Luxemburg and to Lionel of Wandonne. None of it reached Joan's original captor, the Picard archer.

Mrs. Oliphant is frank enough to admit the derived character of her book. Her recognitions to Mr. Andrew Lang are frequent, and her debt to Michelet is probably of equal magnitude. Once when she has to choose between them she follows Michelet. "Shortly after her return to Vaucouleurs (I again follow Michelet, who ought to be well informed) a messenger from Chinon arrived to take her to the King." And at the foot of the page: "Mr. Andrew Lang will not hear of this. He thinks," etc. Accuracy in noting down the results of the best recent historians is all we expect from the writer of an introductory sketch. Where accuracy is lacking we begin to feel the hollowness of the second-hand production. Mrs. Oliphant does not atone, by the liberal smattering of French phrases over a page, for the want of care which mars her narrative.

Mark Twain, in his 'Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc,' essays what we may call the prose epic rather than the historical novel. The historical novel has plot and intrigue. When it has a great historical figure for its centrepiece, either he is made a *deus ex machina*, or else he consorts familiarly with minor personages to the detriment of his historical dignity. Mark Twain has released Joan of Arc from the disadvantages of both these rôles by hitting upon the biographical form, and excluding all action which does not relate to the heroine's life. The story is put into the mouth of an actual fifteenth-century knight, the Sieur de Conte, Joan's page. It was he who, at the Rehabilitation trial, told the story of Joan's kindness to the English soldier on the battlefield of Patay. Mark Twain makes him her companion from childhood to the end. He was by her side in the wars, and when she was taken to Rouen for trial, he entered the city in disguise and became a secretary in the court. The fiction is ingenious, and Dumas's talent might have made it the basis of a masterpiece. The trouble with Mark Twain's treatment is that, while purporting to be archaic, it is extremely modern. The fifteenth-century diction is but indifferently caught, the style is much too vigorous for a man of eighty-two, and the sentiment—even the sentimentality—is far from being mediæval. In these respects let the concluding words of the Sieur de Conte speak for themselves: "Love, Mercy, Charity, Fortitude, War, Peace, Poetry, Music—these may be symbolized as any shall prefer: by figures of either sex and of any age; but a slender girl in her first young bloom, with the martyr's crown upon her head, and in her hands the sword that severed her country's bonds—shall not this, and no other, stand for Patriotism through all the ages until time shall end?"

The substance of the Sieur de Conte's "Recollections" is better than their form. Mark Twain has limitless funds of energy; and energy, even vehemence, is needed in the description of these old skirmishes and battles,

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He clearly grasps the quality of *élan* in Joan's nature, subdued though it was by tenderness. Humor is excluded somewhat too rigorously, for a proper admixture of it would enliven the long stretches of De Conte's devotion. Devotion running into idolatry is the burden of his song. "I came to comprehend and recognize her at last for what she was—the most noble life that was ever born into this world save only One." Mark Twain would even have us see in Joan a great general. We need an occasional bretzel of humor to give us thirst for so much sweet sack of praise. Joan's dialogue is good and full of shrewdness. It includes the bulk of the imaginative part—for the general sequence of the story rests on a foundation of fact—and it proves that Mark Twain can write in serious strain and with power. We hope that if he makes another excursion into this field of historical idealism, he will add incident and keep panegyric within artistic bounds. The merit of the present volume is that it seizes the undying charm of Joan's character, and presents her in living flesh and blood to thousands for whom she would otherwise be a mere name.

ISRAEL AMONG THE NATIONS.

Israel among the Nations: A Study of the Jews and Anti-Semitism. By Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. Translated by Frances Hellman. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895.

A MERE presentation of facts is far within the limits of this writer's clear intent. He is trying to make others see and feel as he does concerning a great moral question. But it would be a mistake to suppose, because the book is brilliant and fascinating and everywhere "touched with emotion," that its underlying substance is not of the strongest. No one can have M. Leroy-Beaulieu's gift and passion for epigram without sometimes abusing his skill, but the excesses of this sort do not affect his general soundness and sobriety, and his book should be read carefully and conscientiously by every one who desires to be written as one who loves his fellow-men.

There will not be many readers who will find omitted here any aspects of the Jewish question which they think important, and the majority will find a great many vividly presented of which they have never thought. Mr. Goldwin Smith's vigorous article, "The Jewish Question," in his 'Essays on Questions of the Day,' is very comprehensive; but those who may turn to it for a correction of M. Leroy-Beaulieu's possible humanitarian excess, will find that the French author has touched all Mr. Smith's points, allowing many of his allegations to be just, but seeing things much more in their true relations, covering a far wider ground, and considering carefully important matters to which Mr. Smith has paid no attention, such as the comparative morality of Jews and Christians, the supposed singularity of certain Jewish traits, and especially the responsibility for some of these inhering in the historical fortunes of the Jews among Christian peoples. M. Leroy-Beaulieu is very far from Mr. Smith's persuasion that Christianity has no "particular interest" in Judaism nor "any particular duty concerning it." A very particular interest would seem to be involved in the fact that the God of Christianity was born a Jew and wore the outward semblance of a Jew; and a particular duty in the centuries of Christian hatred and abuse which have done more than his race or his religion to make the Jew whatever he is to day. It is an interesting fact that the teachings of Jesus were, in the opinion of many eminent scholars, much nearer to the Judaism of his time than to our Christian orthodoxy. A minor difference between Mr. Smith and M. Leroy-Beaulieu is that Mr. Smith's Jews are all millionaires, and a great many of M. Leroy-Beaulieu's are miserably poor.

M. Leroy-Beaulieu does not endeavor to ingratiate himself with his American readers in the introduction, which is particularly addressed to them. He anticipates a position taken in one of the later chapters, namely, that what is called the Judaizing of modern society ought to be called its Americanizing. It is the subjection of society to the typical characteristics of democratic industrial society—"the ascendancy of material interests, the greed for money, the frantic race for wealth." These characteristics are now becoming dominant in all parts of the Old World, but they were first revealed in the United States quite unmistakably, and they have been developed there upon the largest scale. In subsequent editions M. Leroy-Beaulieu may feel obliged to revise this passage, in view of the willingness which thousands of Americans have recently shown to exchange the sordid triumphs of industrial prosperity for the bloody laurels of a fratricidal war. His contention is not that anti-Semitism represents no healthy tendencies whatsoever. "It is within its rightful province when it assails the worship of money, the scandalous barter of political influence," etc. But as he assures us that these things are not peculiarly Semitic, it does not appear why opposition to them should be regarded as in any proper sense anti-Semitic. At this point rhetorical artifice seems to have got the better of the simple truth.

The arrangement of the book is symmetrical and progressive, and sets out with certain estimates of the number and distribution of the Jews. Of some eight millions, six or seven are in Europe, four to five in Russia, seventeen hundred thousand in Austria-Hungary, in Germany six hundred thousand; in England one hundred, in France eighty, in Italy fifty, and in North America about five hundred thousand. The Jews were never so widely scattered as at present, the centre of density being in Poland; and the tendency, for a long time from west to east, is now strikingly from east to west. "The old European and especially the young American states run the risk of being swept by a long tidal wave of Jewish emigration."

We pass in the second chapter to a study of "the oldest grievance" against the Jews, "the religious." This is no longer the principal grievance, and, in so far as it is one at all, it is largely of Talmudic origin. M. Leroy-Beaulieu writes of the different strata in the Talmud with a satisfying clearness which, since the brilliant essay of Emanuel Deutsch, has not been often realized. But the Talmud is gradually relaxing its hold upon the Jewish mind. Its reign is perpetuated only by Christian exclusiveness. When, however, M. Leroy-Beaulieu says of its final abdication, "Perhaps not more than one or two centuries will be needful to bring this about," it is evident that he is not unduly optimistic. A dozen or twenty years would be long enough for many prophet souls, "brooding on things to come." The fantastic character of the Jew in folk-lore furnishes some interesting pages, and the fable of ritualistic murder others. What is no fable is the Christian stealing and violent baptism of thousands of Jewish children—a fate their parents dreaded for them more than death.

The discussion turns in the third chapter on the relation of the Jews to modern ideas, and here the contention is that the Jew has been much more of a passive recipient or industrious middleman than an original manufacturer. The Jew is naturally conservative, but the modern spirit has been too powerful even for his hard material. "In this respect, as in almost all others, and in regard to modern as well as mediæval times, the Jew is only the agent of transmission, a broker. The intellectual commodities which he offers and retails to us are generally not of his own making; they do not originate with him; he took them from us, from our workshops and our laboratories." If the writer is wrong in this persuasion his whole book is wrong, for nothing is more central to it than its insistence upon the Jew's lack of originality, combined with a surprising negative plasticity, a marked susceptibility to the impressions of his environment. The race question is next considered, and the treatment sympathizes with the ideas of Renan and Darmesteter as to the unreality of the antithesis of Aryan and Semite. The Aryans are not pure Aryans and the Semites are not pure Semites. They are very far from being so. It is not their race, but Christian law and clergy and government, that have made the Jew what he is—"the result of a penning in, of all that is comprised in the word Ghetto." This conception is developed in a chapter that deserves the carefullest attention, seeing that its corollary is, Let the Jew cease to isolate himself and the Christian cease to isolate him, and he will soon be as much like other people as can be desired. His passion for ritual cleanness has been one of his most isolating traits, but it has not been inconsistent with a reckless disregard of the most ordinary personal cleanliness and indifference to practical hygiene. Of late he has been de-Talmudizing and de-rabbinizing himself at a rate which threatens to leave as little of his religious as of his more questionable peculiarities.

The study of the Jew's physiology and psychology is extremely penetrating, and abounds in interesting facts and inferences. According to our American census, the Jew's "expectation of life" is fifty-seven years, the Christian's only forty-one. Though he has fewer children, he multiplies more rapidly than the Christian, because he loses fewer by death. "His longevity, his resistance to disease, and his immunity from certain disorders, are a legacy from his ancestors, and are due to his laws, his customs, and his sobriety. On the other hand, his feebleness and the defects of his physical constitution are due to our laws, our Ghettos, and our system of confinement." He is remarkably free from tuberculosis and dipsomania, but extremely subject to insanity and all kinds of nervous disorders.

The history of the Jew has determined his psychological as well as his physiological traits. It has made him mentally quick, both in the way of business and of science, for he is descended at once from the bankers and the hucksters and from the rabbis. "The two Darmesteters, for example, the sons of a modest bookbinder, number thirty rabbis among their forefathers." Morally the Jew has fallen away from his own ideals of conscience, and the feudal ideals of honor were never presented to him in a way to make them appeal to him. Centuries of petty trading have blunted his moral sense. Centuries of isolation have made him a parvenu. But it is something to have deserved the praise the village epitaphs so carelessly bestow—to have been a good husband, father, son.

A chapter upon "Jewish Genius," without parading its examples, quietly and almost

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casually indicates some of the most conspicuous, and shows how relatively large has been the number of Jews who have distinguished themselves in science, literature, and art. But here again, with whatever inclination to certain special qualities, we find that what is most peculiar is the lack of peculiarity, the flexibility which adapts itself to new conditions, a readiness to understand and assimilate whatever is most striking in the various nationalities in which the race is immersed. Even the irony of the Jew is a contribution of his persecutors and destroyers. It is the natural language of the "despised and rejected of men." The same line of thought is continued in a discussion of "the Jewish Spirit"; and in successive chapters on Jewish particularism, the nationalization of the Jew—that is, his absorption by this or that nation—his cosmopolitanism and fraternization, the argument of the book receives its final illustrations. This argument is such a striking paradox that in advance the majority of readers would reject it as violent and absurd. But when they have read to the end they will be profoundly impressed by its development, if they do not find themselves perfectly convinced. It is that the Jew, instead of being one of the most unassimilable of human beings, is one of the most assimilable. Facts that suggest a different interpretation are not structural. Talmudism and ritualism and Christian exclusion and repression have endowed him with a second nature which is mistaken for his fundamental character. Wherever these bonds are relaxed he is quick to lose himself in the wide stream of modern life. Even that form of patriotism which is called chauvinism is easily within his reach. A return to Palestine is considered with more seriousness than it deserves. Never at a loss for a story to clinch his argument, M. Leroy-Beaulieu has at this point one of his best. A Jew of the Vistula said to him, "If Israel ever again becomes a people [in Palestine] I shall ask for the consulship of Palestine at Warsaw."

Geological Biology: An Introduction to the Geological History of Organisms. By Henry Shaler Williams, Silliman Professor of Geology in Yale College. Henry Holt & Co.

The history of the shell life of this continent has naturally engaged the attention of some of our ablest scientists, owing to the fact that the fossils are so numerous and close at hand, the geological succession so apparent, and the problems so fascinating. James Hall early gave distinction to invertebrate palæontology, as we term the science, by his comprehensive work. Many others followed, notably Hyatt with his exact and philosophical studies of the ammonoids and nautiloids, Walcott among the oldest Cambrian rocks, Beecher among the brachiopods, and the present author among several groups. The descent theory put new life into the science at a time when it was threatened with systematic dry rot. The ancestral lines began to be investigated with extraordinary success, along with much speculation as to the modes and causes of evolution, chiefly by Hyatt and Dall. Prof. Williams's volume aims to show how much biology (or philosophy of the eternal changes of living things) has come out of all this labor, or what the fossil shells appear, at the present time, to tell us of natural selection and other factors of evolution. Since it has grown out of lectures originally delivered at Cornell, little knowledge is assumed, and the author approaches his main theme gradually through thirteen chapters, treating very clearly, if somewhat too discursively, of geological time, of classification, and of a multitude of matters of literature, zoölogy, and geology, thus preparing the reader for an approach to the more serious discussions in the last eight chapters. The subject has become such a vast one, and includes such a multitude of details and wealth of great principles, that this part of the work is evidently designed to assist the student to keep sight of the forest among the trees.

The noble race of brachiopods—their rise, expansion, and decline—introduces the causes of evolution, and we must read slowly to master Prof. Williams's trend of thought. We soon find that he is not a Darwinian, for he gives natural selection a subordinate function; neither does he share the Lamarckism of his fellow invertebrate specialists, Hyatt and Dall, for there is hardly a word in the book for the inherited mechanical effect of use and effort, but, to our great surprise, in the broadest sense he is an Aristotelian. This position is unmistakably maintained, and it is the more interesting for two reasons—first, because the author is apparently unconscious of his support of the great Greek philosopher; second, because this position resembles very closely that reached independently of late by several workers, especially by Driesch, one of the younger German biologists, from very different data. The fact that one is an agnostic and the other a thorough theist does not separate their teleological conception of living nature.

According to this conception, evolution is an ultimate process, beyond analysis; it is a part of the unfolding of the original energy of life; there is an innate adaptability to new conditions which we cannot explain—all we can explain is the visible modes and processes. With Prof. Williams, the internal adjustment, development, or "intrinsic" evolution is the unfolding of the original life energy (p. 270), independent and advancing at a different rate from the "extrinsic" evolution, which represents the adjustment to external conditions. Every character has these two aspects. The great lines of division between the larger groups of animals and plants have been the expression of this "intrinsic" evolutional force working from within (p. 274), little affected by external conditions and developing far too rapidly to be reasonably explained by the slow operation of natural selection. On the other hand, specific characters evolve slowly by selection and by the inheritance of "extrinsic" adjustments. A species such as *Atrypa reticularis*, which enjoyed a marvellous extension in time and space, exhibited no "extrinsic" evolution, for, while excessively variable in response to environment, not a single variation became fixed by heredity. Mutability and variability are the normal expression of this "intrinsic" force (p. 297). Instead of causing variability, "extrinsic" evolution checks and limits it by selection and ultimately causes permanency (p. 312). This exactly reverses the commonly accepted view (Spencer-Weismann) that all variation arises "extrinsically," or by response to changed environment. According to the author there is abundant evidence that, in its first bloom, a group displays its widest range of specific variation. As soon as it is found breeding perfectly true, we can conceive it to have reached the end of its life period or "intrinsic" resources, and to be destined soon to become extinct. Evolution upon the "intrinsic" side is a definite and continuous law of expansion (p. 355). It is the greater ability to adjust, not the closer adjustment of structure to environment, which constitutes the higher fitness to survive; not because it has less to oppose it, or less to overcome—not because the conditions of life are easier or more congenial to its particular condition—but because it has more of *the essence of evolution in it* (p. 380).

Such an internal evolving principle is closely akin to the internal perfecting principle of Aristotle. As we have seen, the author is by no means alone at this time in reaching a conclusion so opposed to Weismann's notions of the powers of the survival of the fittest, nor can we accuse him of reasoning in a circle from a theistic premise, because a substantially similar conclusion may be and has been reached from agnostic premises. If we meet the author upon his own field of well-arrayed evidence we find it difficult if not impossible to refute him. The chief comment we would make is that of Helmholtz: *ignoramus, non ignorabimus*. The proof of an orderly and purposive succession, which may put Darwin's and other factors out of court and leave us in the dark for a while, is merely the stimulus to the earlier or later discovery of a still unknown factor. Natural cause there must be, and finding it is a mere matter of time and genius.

The minor defects in this work are not numerous, but should be remedied in a later edition. There is a certain amount of unnecessary repetition of statement and theory. The treatment of the vertebrates in the early part of chapter xx. is so brief and inaccurate as not to strengthen the book. These blemishes are of small moment compared with clearness and fulness, the general accuracy and deep insight displayed throughout the entire treatment of the brachiopods and ammonites. The work will prove invaluable to the student in a field where the temptations to exclusively systematic work are very strong. Yale University is fortunate in securing as a successor to James D. Dana an old pupil who shares so much of his master's spirit.

The History of the Paris Commune of 1871. By Thomas March. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896. Pp. viii, 372.

Among the various object lessons in politics which France has given to Europe, the most striking and least understood of recent times has been the movement of the Commune of Paris in 1871. The mere facts of the history of the Government of the Commune are pretty accurately known; there is no lack of documentary material on which to work; many survivors of the rulers and the ruled during the period have recorded their recollections; and historians of the rank and intelligence of Maxime Du Camp and Ernest Daudet have compiled excellent volumes on the subject. But never yet has there arisen a writer to explain the ideas of the Communards, to make manifest the reasons that induced Paris to submit to the government of the Red Republic, or to develop the true political significance of the events which occurred in Paris after the conclusion of the Franco-German war of 1870-1871. The problems which confront the inquirer at every turn in investigating the history of the Commune are of immense importance. Was the movement the outcome of the socialism preached by the International? Was it a conscious imitation of the ideas expressed by the Hébertist leaders of the Paris Commune of 1793 and repressed with bloodshed by the Great Committee of Public Safety? Was it a spasm of reaction against the imperial and

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centralizing idea which had been fostered by Napoleon III., and seemed likely to be adopted by the Republic which had risen upon the ruins of the Second Empire? Was it a natural expression of the wrath of the national capital at the fearful disasters which had befallen France at the hands of the invading Germans? Or was it the result of fortuitous circumstances which allowed a band of theorists, young and old, to possess themselves of civic power in the moment of a nation's and a city's despair? These are questions which will puzzle thinkers and writers of future generations, just as the problems of the French Revolution of 1789 exercise the intellects of thinkers to-day. The generation which witnessed the events of the Commune has not yet passed away; some of its leaders are at the present time conspicuous figures in French politics; a general amnesty has blotted out the offences of the past, and French politicians of all grades are wary of alluding to the last great struggle between the capital of France and the provinces of France.

But before speculation can be freely indulged in upon the nature of the movement which drenched Paris with blood in 1871, the facts of the period need to be carefully examined and coördinated. The work of the historian must precede the work of the philosopher, or the philosopher will draw his conclusions from false premises. It has already been said that more than one French writer of eminence has dealt with the history of the Commune, but it must be remembered that these Frenchmen are naturally swayed by the passions of their generation, and that they can hardly be expected to deal fairly with the actions of men who destroyed some of the most famous monuments of Paris, who showed no hesitation in shedding blood, and who at the close of a disastrous foreign war plunged France into the greater horrors of civil war. A time will undoubtedly come when the events of the movement of the Commune may be impartially investigated by French historians, but it has not yet arrived. Even Maxime Du Camp shows the influence of political animosity in his excellent history, and still more is this the case, for instance, in the work of Lissagaray. It is possible that a foreign writer might to some extent be expected to anticipate the work of posterity, and, being without national or party prejudice, calmly to examine and narrate this episode of contemporary history in a spirit that should be fair to both sides.

Mr. Thomas March had a great opportunity, for he is the first foreigner, to our knowledge, who has endeavored to write an account of the Commune from the documents. But unfortunately he has not satisfied the expectations which the news of the publication of his book naturally raised. He has neither the temperament nor the training of a historian; he has not learned how to appreciate the value of documents; he shows as much animosity against the leaders of the Commune as any French provincial partisan, and he does not hesitate to accept every statement of their enemies against the character and motives of the men whose deeds he endeavors to narrate. To his credit it may be said that he has tried to build upon primary authorities, but he has failed to deal with them in a critical spirit. He shows his animus in his treatment of previous writers upon his subject, notably in his note on Lissagaray's book, which, on p. 171, he declares he "deemed it unnecessary to finish reading." These strictures are not meant to imply that Mr. March's book is entirely worthless—on the contrary, it is, with all its faults, a useful compilation. Its style, however, is detestable. The influence of Carlyle's 'French Revolution' is over it whenever the author attempts, as he too often does, to moralize. The historical present is constantly abused, and slangy phrases are not infrequent. Here is a typical passage, taken at random, which may be held to justify our censure: "Better a slow advance and sure than a brilliant onset and run even a slight risk of disaster. We will not take this Communal bull by the horns—we will attack him first in the flanks and wound him there, then his head will be less dangerous and easier vanquished" (p. 257).

Ice-Work, Past and Present. By T. G. Bonney. [International Scientific Series.] Appletons. 1896.

THE appearance of a work under the above title by Professor Bonney of University College, London, naturally calls to mind the recent third edition of Prof. J. Geikie's 'Great Ice Age,' and invites a comparison between the two books. The first is intended for the general reader, the second for the glacial geologist; but while the latter is admirably successful in nearly all respects, the former leaves much to be desired. Geikie's work is thorough, critical, and probably as nearly impartial as a strongly convinced author can make a book; Bonney's work is attractive and interesting, of about the proper weight for the general reader, yet not successful in giving a vivid and accurate picture of the facts of glacial geology as they are known to-day.

The characteristic of the third edition of the 'Great Ice Age' is the greatly increased evidence from various parts of the world indicating a complex subdivision of the glacial period into several glacial epochs, separated by important non-glacial intervals. A general belief in two glacial epochs was warranted when the second edition of the book was written (1877), but now five glacial epochs of greater or less importance and distinctness are recognized for northwestern Europe, and probably three for northeastern America. Of the European epochs, the second appears to have produced the most extensive ice-fields, while the third and fourth piled up the great moraines around the southern side of the Baltic. The considerable duration of milder intervals between epochs of ice advance is indicated not only by fossiliferous deposits, but also by the amount of valley cutting or filling associated with interglacial times. In view of the numerous observations on which these conclusions are based, it may be fairly said that next to the great fact of widespread ice-action in post-tertiary time, the subject that holds the attention of the glacial geologist to-day is the evidence pointing to the complexity of the record of ice action. Yet this feature of the subject is very scantily treated by Bonney, and the little emphasis given to it is one of the unsatisfactory features of the book. No reader of the chapter on Alpine glaciers, past and present, would understand that the till on the top of the Uetliberg and the well-preserved moraine on which part of the city of Zurich is built in the neighboring valley were formed at widely separated times, or that the till on the mountain was but a remnant of a widespread deposit. It is not to be supposed that Bonney is uninformed of the well-proved subdivision of the glacial period advocated by Swiss geologists; so we have to conclude that, in simplifying and popularizing the subject, he has omitted matters without which no just account of the glacial period can to-day be given.

The two authors stand on opposite sides of the controversy regarding the origin of lake basins. This problem has been associated with glaciology for the thirty-odd years since Ramsay attempted to solve it by the erosive action of ice. On this subject, Geikie gives insufficient credit to the studies of many Swiss observers who do not go so far as most British geologists in believing that ice, working in large streams or sheets, can excavate hollows or basins of considerable size, such as that of Lake Geneva. It is disappointing to read in his book: "The notion that the lakes of the Alpine lands owe their origin to flexures crossing the lower ends of the mountain valleys is a mere pious opinion—frequently expressed, but never supported by any proofs that will bear critical examination" (p. 225). On the contrary, the careful work of many observers has given increasing reason for accepting precisely the view that Geikie here treats so unfairly and contemptuously. These studies, recently summarized by Aeppli for the case of Lake Zurich, show that this lake is associated in its origin with a series of peculiar and highly specialized warpings, both in place and time, and take its excavation out of reach of ice action.

Bonney is less attached to the glacial origin of lake basins than most British writers, yet here, as in other chapters of his book, there is a lack of sharp selection of the best material for his arguments, nor is the reader put in possession of the best conclusions on this interesting subject. An altogether undue proportion is given to so subordinate a feature as the parallel roads of Glen Roy in Scotland. The reader is referred for fuller description of the driftless region of Wisconsin to Wright's 'Man in the Glacial Period,' instead of to Chamberlain and Salisbury's essay in the sixth annual report of our Geological Survey. The heavy moraines of North Germany are passed over with few words, from which the reader can gather no adequate idea of their great importance. The looped moraines of our Northern States, which certainly are prominent among the many remarkable products of ice-work, are nowhere duly treated. The space allotted to ice-work in Great Britain and Ireland is almost four times as great as that given to other parts of the world.

The Union of England and Scotland. By James Mackinnon, Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co. 1896. Pp. 524.

THE slow and silent growth of a cordial feeling between England and Scotland is one of the capital facts of modern history. Because the Life Guards and the Black Watch fight shoulder to shoulder now, we forget Bannockburn and Flodden and Pinkie. The trick once done is simple enough, especially when no showy legerdemain is required. Yet the attainment of full political union between the countries was far from being a matter of course. The Scandinavian and Iberian peninsulas have both failed where Great Britain has been successful. Norway is rebellious, Portugal is independent and poverty-stricken; Scotland, on the other hand, would be described by any one except a Socialist or a temperance reformer as rich and happy. Had the northern and southern parts of the island been in constant feud during the last two centuries the British Empire would not exist. *Conjuncti valeant.* And even in themselves the means by which peace and union were gained are well worth examining. Graciousness of demeanor did not contribute much to the happy result.

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The Scotch of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had the manners of "Swiss educated in Holland"—to repeat an anti-republican libel—and Englishmen are never notable for tact. Had not the arguments for the establishment of an alliance been overwhelmingly strong, the cause of union must have been lost. The convergence of large interests, first religious, then economic, carried the day in spite of race enmity and individual selfishness.

Mr. Mackinnon writes about the Union of 1707 from the standpoint of a subdued and chastened patriot. "Englishmen ought to know that they cannot obliterate Scotch nationality by perpetually harping on that of England, and by attempting to dazzle Scotch eyes with the glamour of English greatness as such. . . . A people that can claim the national continuity of a long series of great men, whose deeds might make any people proud of its national inheritance, will never consent to part with the symbol of so much that is inspiring and ennobling in its history—a symbol imprinted in the records of a hoary past and inscribed on its national monuments." Patriotism of this sort overlays many passages in the book. When we say that it is chastened we mean that it does not savor of particularism. Beside Mr. Dalziel or Dr. Hunter, Mr. Mackinnon is a mild champion of Scottish claims. We gather from his last chapter, "Nationality and the Union," that he takes a keen interest in modern affairs, and perhaps this extensive study is due to the bearing of the subject on the present relations of England and Scotland. One must take care, however, to distinguish between Mr. Mackinnon and the pamphleteers of the Scotch Home Rule Association. While he tolerates with difficulty the use of "England" in contexts which properly demand Great Britain, he is a fair-minded student of the reigns of William and Mary and Anne.

Mr. Mackinnon devotes only four pages to the relations of the two countries prior to the accession of James VI. to the English throne, and he has little to say about the union of the crowns. With his eye fixed on legislative union he can easily avoid mention of one or two little incidents which the Scotch are willing to forget—for instance, the sale of Charles I. by his northern subjects. He explains lucidly the effect of the Reformation in alienating Scotland from France and ranging her in the same European camp with England, touches upon Cromwell as a prophet of union, and begins to grow to a point with the Revolution. This event, immediately beneficial to England alone, involved the realms in unpleasant complications. Within three years from the landing of William, Glencoe made him, among the Scotch, the most unpopular king of the century. Then followed the Darien expedition and commercial hostility between Edinburgh and London. To offset these causes of friction, the French war and the speedy collapse of Paterson's colony were motives for conciliation. A mixed case becomes kaleidoscopic as Presbyterian and Episcopalian, Jacobite and Orange, Queensberry and Hamilton considerations from time to time thrust themselves to the front. In spite of William's dying injunction to the English peers in favor of a "firm and entire union," the prospect of a satisfactory settlement was almost as remote at the accession of Anne as an Anglo-Hibernian settlement now is.

Our author's solid piece of investigation begins with 1702, and his narrative of plot and counter-plot runs into 376 pages before it reaches the death of Anne. We could not wish it shorter, for it is careful, impartial, and well written. The constitutional aspects of the twelve years are set out prominently, but there is also an abundance of picturesque detail. Simon Fraser, the more versatile Le Caron of his age, vies in prominence with the leading politicians of the House of Assembly, and Col. Hooke runs through a whole chapter. It is not Mr. Mackinnon's fault that he lacks a distinguished statesman for his hero. The movement is weak on the personal side. Queensberry is the prominent figure among the Scotch, but he cannot be described as a political enthusiast of high and disinterested aims. Viewed in comparison with the magnitude of the results, he is distinctly overparted. Nor do we find any politician about the court of Queen Anne who is ready to go through fire and water to unite the kingdoms. The treaty owes much to the lucid mind of Somers, but he was not its originator. What Englishman championed the Union out of love for the Scotch? It was all very well for Bishop Compton to say in his sermon on the Union (May-day, 1707, after the treaty had been signed), "At no time were Scotsmen more acceptable to Englishmen than on this day." A long time elapsed before they were generally acceptable to Englishmen save on grounds of political expediency.

Mr. Mackinnon's account of 1706-7 shows real skill in historical disquisition. After describing the circumstances under which the Act of Security was passed, and illustrating English resentment at the measure, he presents an excellent analysis of the events preceding and attending the Union Commission. The Duke of Hamilton's volte-face of September 1, 1705—even more rapidly executed than Sir Robert Peel's conversion in 1846—paralyzed the Scotch Nationalists, and the appointment of Harley, Somers, Devonshire, and Sunderland to the Commission was an earnest of English readiness to entertain Scotch claims. Even with these preliminary advantages the Unionists had a hard task. "The temper of both nations was bellicose enough. The Commissioners were conscious that unanimity could alone obviate a fierce international struggle." Economically Scotland then stood towards England about as Newfoundland stands towards Canada to-day. Disaster had overtaken her, incorporation with a far richer neighbor was offered, and pride of country raised the same kind of obstacles. Defoe, with true discernment, might prophesy that a wave of prosperity would sweep over Scotland when the barriers were removed. Fletcher of Saltoun replied that union would only make a poor country poorer. While the pamphleteers raged without, the Commissioners, with the wisdom usually displayed by such congresses, arranged terms which secured the main advantages of incorporation without depriving Scotland of her courts or of her established church.

Mr. Mackinnon's concluding chapters on Jacobite activity, the industrial progress of Scotland during the last century, and the nature of modern Scotch nationalism round off his minute description of the legislative union. He marks the congratulatory tone of English travellers in Scotland during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, to show the death of the old jealousy. International intercourse was indeed making strides when a Londoner with the strong anti-Scotch prejudices of Dr. Johnson set about exploring the Hebrides. Industrial progress was slow at the start, but after Culloden the triumphal career of the Scotch at home and abroad begins. During the long period of political lethargy, 1745–1825, Scotland was occupied in becoming rich and learned. Since the first Reform Bill she has steadily sent Liberal delegations to Westminster. Southern England is not more regularly Conservative. As for Scotch activity, perseverance, and success, who can say where or when the colophon will be placed?

We must not attempt to follow Mr. Mackinnon through his wealth of original material. He is firm-grounded in the sources, and errs only in regarding the Union movement too exclusively from the Scottish side. For all that Scotland has done, England is by head and shoulders the predominant partner, and in a book with such a title deserves more attention than she gets.

London City Churches. By A. E. Daniell. With numerous illustrations by Leonard Martin. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1896. Square 8vo, pp. x, 394.

THE old churches of London have excited a great deal of interest of late among English archæologists. The passage of a law, not many years ago, for the union of city benefices has caused the destruction of many of these, including eleven that were built by Sir Christopher Wren. More of them are threatened with destruction for the obvious reason that the land which they occupy would be valuable to commerce, and is a temptation to speculators. An evidence of the renewed interest in the old churches is seen in the numerous articles about them which have appeared in technical periodicals and in several books, of each of which the chief or important part is devoted to a somewhat exaggerated statement of the architectural value of the buildings in question. The present work deals with the churches of the City of London alone, excluding the rest of the metropolitan district, or what might be called Greater London.

The introduction gives most of the needed statistics. It is pointed out that eighty-six parish churches were destroyed, or nearly so, by the fire of 1666; that, of these, thirty-five were never rebuilt, thirty-three of the new buildings serving for two parishes each, and one, Bow Church, for three. Forty-nine churches were rebuilt by Wren; and it may be said here that the fact of this almost exclusive employment of one architect for the rebuilding of London after the fire, and the assumption that St. Paul's Cathedral and the numerous minor buildings designed by that architect were parts of one general scheme for the beautifying of the capital, have created a kind of legend for a very attractive personality. The city churches built by Wren are not comparable for cost and extent with similar and contemporary monuments on the Continent, and it is easy to exaggerate their importance in the way of architectural design.

The introduction goes on to state that twenty-two churches escaped the fire, but that one of these, St. Andrew's Holborn, was ruined in Wren's time and was rebuilt by him, and others were remodelled at later dates, so that eight churches only remain in the city belonging to the time before the conflagration. Even this is a surprise to those who have studied the maps of London, before and after the fire. Such a "barn-door-fowl flight of learning" as that leads the small antiquary to suppose that nothing was left within the line of the old walls. The church of St. Bartholomew the Great is, however, well known for the valuable remains of a very early building which

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are to be found there, only recently regained (if they are regained) from the uses of mechanical trade to which the building had been put. St. Andrews's Undershaft is a late perpendicular church of some interest in spite of restoration; and its curious name recalls the great maypole which once stood in Leadenhall Street. St. Giles Cripplegate is another perpendicular church, dating from the sixteenth century, but it was much restored in the seventeenth century. Here is the tomb of Milton, and a cenotaph of Sir Martin Frobisher erected in modern times. St. Catherine Cree was built not long before the great fire, and is one of those very curious structures in which classic and late Gothic details are freely mingled; not, however, in the production of an attempted new architectural style, but in the frank contrasting of one set of details with the other. St. Helen's Bishopsgate is the most interesting of all, architecturally speaking; it is a conventual church of which parts date from the thirteenth century and others from the fourteenth, while details of the interior are undoubtedly the work of Inigo Jones. St. Olave's Hart Street and All Hallows Barking are perpendicular churches well worthy of study, in spite of their frequent restoration. Finally, we remark that St. Ethelburga's, with its narrow alley opening on Bishopsgate Street between two shops, contains some vestiges of good early Gothic work; but the church is very diminutive and almost wholly modernized.

The book under consideration gives a careful and well-considered notice of each of these old churches, of the churches built by Wren, and those of later time, but not recent. It is one of the class which has so few representatives, that of studious and careful books; of books the material for which has been gathered in abundance and well sifted for publication. It seems that all the important discoveries made during recent years, whether about the buildings themselves or in the way of written documents, are presented in these notices. The book is as interesting as any such record can be, and an index of the churches and another of proper names make it available for serious study. The illustrations by Mr. Martin are generally small heads of chapters, very well drawn, and giving views of the churches from well-chosen points. Besides these there are fourteen half-tones which give views on a larger scale, generally of the interiors of the interesting churches under examination. There are half a-dozen additional, undescribed alike by legend on the page and by mention in the table. These the reader is left to puzzle over, the interesting problem being given to him to name each of them from the description contained in the adjacent pages.

Greek Oligarchies: Their Character and Organization. By Leonard Whibley. London: Methuen & Co.; New York: Putnams.

Mr. Andrew Lang has recently censured Oxford and Cambridge for not producing volumes of classical studies and doctors' dissertations like those which every self-respecting American university issues from time to time. But our English cousins achieve much the same end by their own characteristic method of competition for prizes. Mr. Leonard Whibley, already favorably known to students of Greek history for his Prince Consort dissertation on 'Political Parties at Athens during the Peloponnesian War,' now publishes a "Hare Prize" dissertation on 'Greek Oligarchies,' as above. The little book presents a useful collection of the somewhat scattered and fragmentary material, together with a convenient résumé of the speculations and definitions of the ancients and the conjectures of the moderns. The author draws very largely on Gilbert's 'Handbuch,' Mr. Newman's 'Introduction to the Politics of Aristotle,' and Sandys's notes on the recently discovered Aristotelian Constitution of Athens. But he has grouped under appropriate heads a quantity of facts which the student would not easily find elsewhere, and has enlivened his discussion of them by occasional apt quotations from such modern writers on the science of politics as Maine, Bagehot, Sir J. F. Stephen, Austin, Freeman, Fustel de Coulanges, and J. S. Mill.

The earlier chapters, on the origins of popular political terminology and the classifications of forms of government by Plato and Aristotle, on the "Causes of Constitutional Change," and on "The Development of Constitutions," are perhaps more readable than the more solid concluding studies of the varieties of oligarchy and the organization of oligarchical government. No important lesson seems to detach itself from this marshalling of more or less conjectural details; and unless the reader's zeal is sustained by the controversial interest of some private theory, he is tempted to blaspheme against the excessive conscientiousness of modern science, and take refuge in Plato's comfortable saying that if you are curious to look beyond the conspicuous types, you can readily find countless dynasties and purchased principalities and other intermediate and nondescript forms of government, both among Greeks and barbarians.

A few minor points may be noted in conclusion. Mr. Whibley suggests that the terms Eupatridæ, Geomori, and Demiurgi were artificial designations introduced at the time of the συνοικισμός of Attica to denote the classes *de facto* existing in the separate communities and recognized in the new state. For πατρόθεν in Aristotle's Constitution of Athens (21, sec. 4) he would read πάτραθεν. Men continued to be called by their fathers' names after the institution of the demes. Cleisthenes's aim must have been to put the new citizens on an equal footing with the members of the old clans by abolishing the custom of calling a man by the clan or gentile name (πάτραθεν). The point had already been made by Gilbert, who, however, contents himself with taking πατρόθεν in the required sense. It is not quite accurate to say that in 'Laws,' 693 D, Plato ranks monarchy and democracy as mother forms above other constitutions. He merely treats them as the two great historic types from which all others may be derived. In the passage in which he is said to have changed his mind and reversed the relative preference assigned to oligarchy over democracy in the republic, he is careful to qualify his statement by the words "a certain kind of democracy." The vagueness caused by the etymological and ethical associations of the word aristocracy might have been more aptly illustrated by the rhetorical application of the term to the Athenian democracy in the 'Menexenus.' The discussion of Aristotle's ambiguous use of the word "Polity" would have been made clearer by a reference to 'Laws,' 712 E, where Plato, commending the mixed constitutions of Crete and Sparta, declares that they are really "Polities," while the partisan oligarchies and democracies of Greece do not deserve the name. In the quotation from Athenæus, p. 182, n. 3, ἐξάγουσιν is an oversight for ἐξάξουσιν.

The Trent Affair, including a Review of English and American Relations at the Beginning of the Civil War. By Thomas L. Harris. Indianapolis and Kansas City: The Bowen-Merrill Co. 1896.

Mr. Harris's account of the Trent affair, which covers also an account of the facts connected with England's recognition of Confederate belligerency, rehearses an old story without throwing any new light upon it. He has collected a mass of evidence showing that the behavior of the English Government towards us was dictated by an unfriendly spirit; but it is not new evidence. The publishers make the singular statement that the importance of the case of the *Trent* "seems, in large measure, to have escaped the notice of historians," and that "a careful study of the whole matter will be certain to make Americans appreciate more fully than ever that it is their duty to prevent by force of arms, if necessary, any insult or indignity which may be offered to their national honor."

The lesson which most Americans derived from the *Trent* case at the time was that it is a great pity to get up a tremendous excitement over a national act of very questionable legality, exciting passionate resentment abroad, unless the country is fully prepared to back it up with the army and navy, because the only alternative of war is a humiliating retreat. The other question—what was *settled* by the *Trent* case—Mr. Harris leaves as much in the air as most people who take it up. He draws seven different conclusions from it as "warranted"; but the matter had been already put in a nutshell by Mr. R. H. Dana, who, in his edition of Wheaton, laid it down thirty years ago that the point disposed of was that a belligerent cannot take persons out of a neutral vessel at sea, on any pretext. Mr. Seward restored Mason and Slidell on the ground that, if a captor relinquishes his prize without necessity, he cannot take prisoner or cargo out of her as contraband; but what was involved was substantially the right of searching neutral vessels on the high seas, and with the *Trent* case the assertion of this right probably disappeared for ever. When we think of the principle on which the duties of neutrals towards belligerents rest, it is not difficult to see that the claim in any aspect was a preposterous one. What a neutral is bound to do is to refrain from helping a belligerent carry on war; hence arms and munitions of war are contraband and may be seized under proper circumstances, as when captured by a blockading squadron. But that this principle involves the right to stop a neutral vessel on the high seas between two neutral ports (the *Trent* sailed from Havana) and take passengers off because they are messengers from a belligerent to a neutral, is a mediæval notion which in modern times is out of place. If Europe becomes involved again in a great war, we shall yet have reason to be glad that England insisted on Mason and Slidell being given up.

Spring Notes from Tennessee. By Bradford Torrey. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1896. Small 8vo, pp. 223.

Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Orchard Knob, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga were familiar names thirty-odd years ago. War was then making history at a rapid rate, and important events were numerous in Eastern Tennessee. A year ago Mr. Torrey found interest in these localities much heightened because of reminiscences, but his presence there was only in an indirect way due to the

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terrible memories of battle. His mission was bird-hunting; he was there to meet the migrants on their way to the North, to fix a station in their journey, to trace a portion of the story of their lives. That he had a month of successful hunting is evident enough from the list of the birds he "got"—ninety-three species, and all without murdering a single bird. He hunted with ears and eyes and opera-glasses; he heard the song, found and identified the singer, and noted what he learned. As he did not startle the singers, the notes he caught were free, light-hearted notes of joy, and he left the songsters alive to utter thousands more, and to teach their fledglings songs that will cheer the hearts of future generations of birds and of men. No slaughter, no butchery, no dead, no wounded, no starving nestlings moaning out their innocent lives for murdered parents, no cries of pain or terror—such a story of a hunting trip is not often told. Only once have we a glimpse of the savage among his ancestors—when he threw the first stone to aid the minister, a man of God, in a frenzy to crush the head of a poor little harmless snake. The example of this author is a splendid one for young ornithologists:

"Hast thou named all the birds without a gun?"

He has studied the birds to such purpose that he knows them at sight or recognizes them by their voices. He had no need of slaying hundreds to make up his lists.

Though the principal interest pertains to the birds, there is something in the book besides what relates to them. It is worth reading by any one with vitality enough in him to appreciate an enjoyable outing.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Andreae, Percy. The Vanished Emperor. Rand, McNally & Co.
Besant, Sir Walter. The Master Craftsman. F. A. Stokes Co. $1.50.
Burnham, S. M. Pleasant Memories of Foreign Travel. Boston: Bradlee Whidden.
Cahan, A. Yekl: A Tale of the New York Ghetto. Appletons.
Cambridge, Ada. A Humble Enterprise. Appletons.
Cocke, Dr. J. M. Blind Leaders of the Blind. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $1.50.
Coubertin, Pierre de. L'Évolution Française sous la Troisième République. Paris: Plon.
Dyde, Prof. S. W. Hegel's Philosophy of Right. London: Bell; New York: Macmillan. $1.90.
Fairbanks, Arthur. Introduction to Sociology. Scribners. $2.
Follett, Miss M. P. The Speaker of the House of Representatives. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.75.
Gordon, E. B. Adoniram Judson Gordon: A Biography. F. H. Revell Co. $1 50.
Gordon, Gen. Sir T. E. Persia Revisited. Edward Arnold. $3.
Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. VII. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Haskell, Miss Ellen M. Child Observations. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. $1.50.
Kiepert, H., and Hülsen, Ch. Formae Vrbis Romae Antiquae. Accedit Nomenclator Topographicus. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
Kittell, Prof. R. A History of the Hebrews. Vol. II. London: Williams & Norgate: New York: Putnams. $4.20.
Knight, William. The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. Vol. V. Macmillan. $1.50.
Littell's Living Age. April–June, 1896. Boston: Littell & Co.
Luqueer, F. L. Hegel as Educator. Macmillan. $1.
Miller, M. A. Gold or Silver? F. T. Neely.
Mize, W. H. Gold, Grace, and Glory. G. W. Dillingham. $1.50.
O'Grady, Standish. In the Wake of King James. London: Dent; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.25.
Pemberton, Max. The Iron Pirate. Rand, McNally & Co.
Phillips, Prof. A. W., and Fisher, Prof. Irving. Elements of Geometry. Harpers. $1.75.
Qualtrough, Lieut E. F. The Boat-Sailer's Manual. Revised ed. Scribners. $1 50.
Richardson, G. A. King Mammon and the Heir Apparent. Boston: Arena Publishing Co.
Russell E. E. The Reason Why. New York: The Author.
Select American Classics. American Book Co. 60c.
Setoun, Gabriel. Robert Burns. [Famous Scots.] Scribners. 75c.
Sibler, K. E. Riehl's Vierzehn Nothelfer. American Book Co. 30c
Spanhoofd, A. W. Krambambuli, and Memoiren eines Offizierburschen. American Book Co. 25c.
The American Conference on International Arbitration. Baker & Taylor Co. $1.50.
Traill, H. D. From Cairo to the Soudan Frontier. London: John Lane: Chicago: Way & Williams. $1.50.
Trotha, Capt. Thilo von. Tactical Studies on the Battles around Plevna. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co.
Two Queens: A Historical Novel. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. 50c.
Wakeling, G. H. King and Parliament (1603–1714). Scribners. 50c.
Walker, F. A. International Bimetallism. Henry Holt & Co. $1 25.
Warden, Gertrude. The Sentimental Sex. Appletons.
Wilcox, Ella W. An Ambitious Man. Chicago: E. A. Weeks & Co.
Wright, Prof. Joseph. The English Dialect Dictionary. Part I., A to Ballot. London: Henry Frowde; New York: Putnams.

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